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The general problem of learning how to equalize educational opportunity for the educationally deprived child has several facets and there are several approaches to its solution. The composition of the conference, the design of the conference, and an assessment of conference outcomes concerning this problem are given.

Papers and plenary discussions are included, covering an array of questions concerning the general problem. Articles included are "The Enlarging Function of the School with Respect to the Disadvantaged", "Educating Intelligence: A Study in the Prevention of Mental Retardation", "The Youth Culture, the School System and the Socialization Community", "Some Research Findings of the National Principalship Study and their Implications for Educational Change", "Teaching Strategies", "Proposals for the Education of School Personnel for Work with Inner-city Situations", and "Issues to Consider in Evaluation and Research Designs for Inner-city Programs".

Also included are small group discussions and outcomes concerning the problems of disadvantaged children. Summaries of discussion of the Atlantic team, the Boston team, the Cincinnati team, the Detroit team, the Los Angeles team and outcomes of the July conference, are given.

In 1964 a follow-up committee to the July conference met to develop follow-up work in training, consultation and research. Proposed experimentation with training and consultation for persons who work with educationally disadvantaged students in inter-city school systems is suggested. A diagram is included, diagraming the proposed experimentation. The problem, the objectives, methods and organization, a proposal of a preliminary planning, developmental and trial-run phase of the larger problem are outlined.

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CONFERENCE ON TRAINING PROGRAMS FOR PERSONNEL WHO WORK WITH EDUCATIONALLY DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS

Cooperative Research Project No. F-030

Principal Investigators:
Kenneth D. Benne
Max Birnbaum
Donald C. Klein

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Boston, Massachusetts

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SECTION I

DESCRIPTION AND ASSESSMENT

DESCRIPTION AND ASSESSMENT OF DEVELOPMENTAL CONFERENCE PROJECT

KENNETH D. BENNE, MAX BIRNBAUM AND DONALD KLEIN
BOSTON UNIVERSITY

A. Rationale for the Conference

The anomaly of persistent poverty within the midst of our generally prosperous society is commanding widespread attention among both students and action leaders of public affairs. The subsidiary problem of how best to achieve effective equality of educational opportunity for the educationally disadvantaged children of the poor is high on the current list of priority concerns of educators across the country.

The developmental conference described in this report is thus no isolated event within the current social and educational scene. The general problem of learning better how to equalize educational opportunity for the educationally disadvantaged has several facets and legitimately invites several approaches to its solution. The developmental activities project, conducted by the Boston University Human Relations Center during 1964, was focused upon one distinctive approach to the general problem.

Underlying this approach was a pre-diagnosis by the principal investigators of the difficulty which teachers and principals face in dealing educatively with groups of educationally disadvantaged children and young people in the inner-city schools of American large cities.[1] Inner-city schools in large cities were emphasized in this project for several reasons. Socially reenforced non-motivation or anti-motivation toward academic achievement operates among large numbers of students in these schools in its clearest form. The gap between the social class orientations of children and their parents, on the one hand, and the social class orientations of teachers and principals, on the other, tends to be most apparent in inner-city schools. Moreover, difficulties in motivation and communication rooted in social class discrepancies are complicated in many of these schools by interracial and other intergroup tensions.

The aspect of the current instructional challenge in inner-city schools on which this project was focused is its motivational aspect. Traditional technologies of teaching have assumed that children bring with them to schools motivations toward academic achievement--motivations generated and reenforced in part in the families and neighborhoods in which children spend their nonschool lives. Of course, teachers have been aware that children have other motivations which conflict at times with motivations toward academic achievement and that different families and different ethnic groups vary in the degree of reenforcement they give to children to do well in school. But teachers, it has been assumed, can with most children draw upon some fund of academic motivation generated outside the school, in motivating learning in the school. Technologies of teaching have not extended traditionally to ways of generating positive motivation toward school achievement against externally generated and group-reenforced forces of non-motivation or anti-motivation toward active participation in school learning.

The principal investigators believed that it is this assumption underlying traditional conceptions and technologies of teaching which can no longer be made validly for many children who come to inner city schools. If such schools are not to become primarily custodial institutions, teachers need to develop teaching technologies designed to generate positive motivation in students for academic achievement within the associations of the school. There are good reasons to believe that the means for generating motivation most accessible to teachers are the groups in which children meet and work at school.[2] Deeply involving groups with standards favorable to learning achievement will generate individual motivations in members of work groups to invest themselves responsibly in learning efforts. Teachers, and other school personnel, on this view, should learn the knowledges and skills necessary to build deeply involving learning groups in these schools, groups in which they are accepted as members with special resources and authority.

But building such groups in inner city schools must cross the lines of entrenched and discrepant social class orientations and of memberships in discrepant racial and other groups already noted. Teachers must learn to build groups by facing with students these emotionalized conflicts and working them through to some common understanding. This requires a kind of training which helps teachers to develop objectivity toward their own attitudes and orientations, ability to tolerate and use conflicts constructively, and skills in helping students to collaborate with them in setting learning objectives and standards. Schools will need to hold their objectives and standards more flexibly if students are to learn to collaborate in a genuine way. Technologies for such human relations training, combined with follow-up consultation, have already been developed in laboratory training and in some forms of intergroup education. But they have not been focused in any large-scale way upon the training of teachers and other school personnel in inner-city schools. Nor have the effects of such training upon teaching in such schools been evaluated by responsible research methods.

The principal investigators hoped eventually to accomplish such extensive field testing and evaluation research. They realized, however, that such an effort would require the cooperative efforts of three kinds of personnel not always accustomed to close collaboration--the superintendents of large city schools, professional teacher educators, and social scientists. Moreover, centers of decentralized activity, involving close collaboration between city school systems and neighboring universities, would need to be developed in various parts of the country within some over-all consortium structure. This structure would be designed to insure optimum analysis and sharing of local experiences and findings in the interest of developing and diffusing valid generalizations concerning this approach to the problems of teaching the educationally disadvantaged.

(It is their further belief that, while today it is most urgently required to develop and use these technologies in improving the teaching of the educationally disadvantaged, the technologies thus developed will come to fill an important void in general teaching technology for use with all children and young people in our society. The gap between generations, while dangerously accentuated in inner-city schools, is presenting increasing problems in all schools in our society.[3])

They came to see that a developmental conference, appropriately composed, designed and conducted, could serve two purposes--(a) to pretest their general approach through the critical deliberations of school superintendents, teacher educators and social scientists acquainted with the problems of inner-city schooling; and (b) to test the interest of local or regional teams of educators and social scientists in field-testing and evaluating the approach, if its general soundness and practicability were approved in conference deliberations.

B. The Composition of the Conference

The composition of the conference was determined by these purposes. Five "teams" of people accepted our invitation to become the core membership of the Conference. These teams came from five metropolitan areas across the country--Los Angeles, Detroit, Cincinnati, Atlanta and Boston. Each team consisted of the superintendent of a city school system, a teacher educator from a neighboring university and a social scientist from the same or another neighboring university. In the case of Atlanta, university representatives from both Atlanta University and Emory University were invited.

Conference membership was rounded out with persons who possess special knowledge and experience with respect to problems of inner-city schooling and who represent social science disciplines not adequately represented in the metropolitan teams. Some of these persons were invited to prepare and read papers which were presented and discussed in plenary sessions of the Conference. Others were invited to participate in small group and plenary sessions. Some were asked to serve as recorders of discussion in Conference sessions. These non-team resources included public school principals, teacher educators, human relations trainers, sociologists, psychologists, psychiatrists and social workers. Representatives of a number of fund-granting agencies, public and private, were invited to attent as observers and several were able to attend part or all of the Conference sessions.[4]

C. The Design of the Conference

The Conference was held at a relatively isolated location in Waltham, Massachusetts near Boston. Most Conference participants lived at the motor hotel where sessions were held. The Conference was in session from Thursday morning, July 16, through noon of Sunday, July 20, 1964.

The work time of participants was divided between plenary sessions and small group sessions. Plenary sessions were devoted to presentation and discussion of papers prepared for the Conference. Small groups were built around the five metropolitan teams already discussed. These groups were composed of team members along with other persons from the Conference membership selected to round out an optimum cross-disciplinary composition for the group. In their sessions, groups explored and tested the soundness and practicability of the Conference approach to improving the education of the educationally disadvantaged, identified and discussed specific ways in which experimentation with the approach might be most strategically initiated in their particular school system, related ideas from the plenary session discussions to the Conference problem, and built and tested working relationships between the superintendent, the teacher educators and the social scientists on the metropolitan team.[5]

Prepared papers included a general overview of the problem of educating the educationally disadvantaged in our society, an exploration of the social-psychological life space of the disadvantaged child, an exploration of how the problem looks to teachers in inner-city schools, a report on problems in the educational leadership of school principals based on a nationwide research, a report on cognitive problems in school learning and how these can be overcome, a treatment of the operation of group forces as these affect learning motivation in children and young people, a proposal concerning ways in which the approach envisaged by the principal investigators might be implemented by city school systems and cooperating universities, and a viewpoint on how evaluation research might best be built into a program of field experimentation. The plenary sessions in which papers were presented were arranged to parallel the anticipated movement of discussions in the small groups. In general, plenary sessions moved from an emphasis upon diagnosis of the problems of the educationally disadvantaged to an emphasis upon ways of implementing experimental efforts to solve these problems.[6]

At its final session, the Conference authorized the principal investigators to select a follow-up committee from the team membership of the Conference to work out a program proposal for field experimentation based on Conference findings. This committee, representing all but one of the metropolitan teams and also representing the city school superintendency, city school principals, teacher educators and social scientists, met in Boston, September 19-20. They prepared a proposal to be used in seeking funds to support field experimentation and evaluation research in line with the Conference approach to improving education for the educationally disadvantaged through specially designed human relations training and consultation for principals, teachers and other school personnel in large city school systems.[7]

The proposal prepared by the follow-up committee was circulated to all metropolitan team members of the Waltham Conference. All have expressed interest in working in the follow-up program as it is funded and further developed. Some suggestions for small revisions of the proposal have been incorporated in the version reproduced in this report.

D. Assessment of Conference Outcomes

The Conference Project was designed with two specific objectives in mind, as already noted. These objectives, when converted into questions concerning the extent of their achievement, provide a framework for assessing Conference results.

1. Were the soundness and practicability of the general approach proposed by the principal investigators to improving education for the educationally disadvantaged in large city school systems upheld by Conference deliberations?

Any convincing judgment of the soundness and practicability of specially designed programs of human relations training and consultation for teachers and other school personnel, who work with educationally disadvantaged children and young people, as a way of improving the education of the latter must, of course, await extensive field testing and careful evaluation research. But a conference of school leaders and workers, teacher educators and social scientists acquainted with inner-city schools and/or contemporary problems of early socialization in our society can, after deliberation, make judgments as to whether such an approach has enough soundness and practicability in it to warrant extensive field testing and careful evaluation research. And it was this qualified judgment of soundness and practicability which the principal investigators sought from the Conference.

Thus qualified, Conference outcomes permit us to give a clearly affirmative answer to the first assessment question. The clearest evidence supporting this affirmative answer is the virtually unanimous expression of interest by all metropolitan team members in some degree of participation in the proposed follow-up program developed out of Conference deliberations and reproduced in this report as Section IV.

In reaching the degree of unanimity which the Conference did achieve several important questions concerning the approach to the general problem proposed by the principal investigators had to be faced and worked through by the Conference. The Conference came to recognize that, granted our present level of knowledge and experience, there are several promising approaches to the solution of the general problem of the educationally disadvantaged and that the approach proposed by the principal investigators is only one of these. Among the other approaches presented and discussed by the Conference was an emphasis upon specially designed, educative pre-school experiences for the children of the poor (See paper by Goodwin Watson, Section II). The argument for this approach is that efforts directed to improving the education of the educationally disadvantaged at elementary and secondary school levels come too late for optimum effect. Deprivations in the pre-school life of children of the poor, motivationally and conceptually, make later school efforts to overcome these early developed educational lacks very difficult indeed. There is great cogency in this approach. Yet, the problem of improving schooling for those students who have not undergone specially designed pre-school experiences remains. And a likely way to such improvement lies in the re-education of teachers to help them better in helping students to overcome their motivational and conceptual lacks. Such re-education would be essential even if extensive use were made of residential schooling for educationally disadvantaged city children, another approach presented to the Conference (See paper by Goodwin Watson, Section II).

Still another approach to educating the educationally disadvantaged is to help educationally disadvantaged students achieve the essential steps in concept formation which further education requires and which they do not achieve, as better advantaged students tend to do, in pre-school and out-of-school experiences, particularly in the family (See paper by Hilda Taba, Section II). It is probably true that fully effective teachers will need to become better acquainted with special difficulties in basic concept formation which educationally disadvantaged children present in school and more skilled in working with them in taking fundamental first steps in concept formation and discrimination. But this does not preclude the need for teachers also to become more skilled in working out relations with groups of children which generate motivations in them to overcome their various educational deficiencies.

Yet another approach presented to the Conference assumed that the problem of adequate socialization and education for educationally disadvantaged children and young people requires thoughtful collaboration and planning by all socializing and educative agencies in the complex urban community. These include schools but include various other public and private agencies as well (See paper by Ronald Lippitt, Section II, also paper by Benne and Birnbaum, same section). Again one can accept the great desirability of this wider collaboration among agencies and among professional and volunteer educators and affirm also the desirability of re-educating teachers and other school personnel toward more effective and educative collaboration with groups of educationally disadvantaged children and young people in the schools.

Finally, an approach of opening up employment opportunities for educationally deprived young people and gearing their educational rehabilitation and further education to such employment was presented to and discussed by the Conference (See ideas of Arthur Pearl, Section II). Here again, one can accept the validity of experimenting further with this approach to the general problem without rejecting the validity of approaching the problem also through human relations training and consultation for teachers and other school personnel in inner-city schools.

Moreover, the Conference, including the principal investigators, began to see more clearly that "the Conference approach" to the general problem can be combined with various other approaches at the local level of operation. Part of the envisaged education of teachers, principals and other school personnel is to become better diagnosticians of the environments of their students as these environments block or facilitate student collaboration in learning processes. Further, the training and consultation envisaged includes efforts by teachers and principals to invent try and evaluate approaches which seem to fit their diagnoses of their educational situation and which promise to improve it. Presumably, the approaches explored in this Conference would be studied and assessed by teachers and principals and some of them might well become part of a local experimental program. The kind of training envisaged by the "Conference approach" to the problem could thus help to implement various approaches to improving the education of the educationally disadvantaged in inner-city schools. The clearest evidence of the beginnings of such a synthesis of approaches to the general problem is found in group discussions by the five metropolitan teams of ways in which the "Conference approach" might be implemented locally (See group reports in Section III).

2. Is there an interest among city superintendents of schools, teacher educators and social scientists in developing a pattern of collaboration in testing the Conference approach to improving education for the educationally disadvantaged?

It has already been indicated that Conference outcomes support an affirmative answer to this second assessment question. But it deserves special attention in evaluating the results of the Conference. The Conference itself provided a behavioral test of the possibility of fruitful collaboration among school superintendents and principals and university people, teacher educators and social scientists, in analyzing and planning for the problems of educationally disadvantaged students in city schools. The groupings and sessions were designed to require and as a result to test the collaboration among these populations whose cooperation is necessary for any fully effective approach to solving the problems of the educationally deprived but whose cooperation, in any normative sense of that term, is now relatively halting and infrequent.

The high degree of consensus achieved concerning the desirability of a follow-up of the Conference with a program of field-testing and evaluation research indicates that the inherent difficulties in collaboration were at least partly overcome. This does not mean that collaboration was achieved without difficulty. Conflicts did occur between "representatives" of various "disciplines" in small group discussions and in plenary sessions. Members of each "dicipline" had to test the good faith of numbers of other "diciplines" before mutual and open speaking of minds and fruitful collaboration could be achieved. The ability of Conference members to overcome their difficulties in communication and collaboration is probably attributable to several factors. One was the importance and urgency of the problem being discussed which all Conference members acknowledged. Further was the insistence by Conference leadership that difficulties in communication and relationship be publicly faced and worked through in the interest of better work on the Conference problem.

It is probably fair to say that small circles of potential collaboration among school leaders and university people have been achieved, in varying degree, in the five metropolitan "teams" represented in the core membership of the Conference. It is hoped that these circles can now be widened and built upon in a large scale program of field experimentation and evaluation research.

Footnotes

1. For a fuller diagnosis of this difficulty, see Appendix A, Developmental Activities Project Proposal, also Conference papers by Goodwin Watson and by Kenneth D. Benne and Max Birnbaum, Section II.

2. For evidence supporting this assumption, see Appendix A and paper by Benne and Birnbaum, Section II.

3. See paper by Benne and Birnbaum, Section II, for an expansion of this point.

4. For a complete listing of Conference participants, see Appendix B.

5. For a synopsis of the five small group discussions, see Section III.

6. Conference papers, along with brief summaries of plenary session discussions are reproduced in Section II. The schedule of Conference sessions which shows the arrangement of plenary sessions and small group deliberations is reproduced as Appendix C.

7. This proposal, as amended in light of suggestions received from other Conference team members to whom it was circulated, is reproduced as Section IV.

SECTION II

PAPERS AND PLENARY DISCUSSIONS

THE ENLARGING FUNCTION OF THE SCHOOL WITH RESPECT TO THE DISADVANTAGED

GOODWIN WATSON
NEWARK STATE COLLEGE

Return to First Principles

Before there were city superintendents and school systems there were schools. Before there were schools there were teachers. Before there were teachers there were learners. The basic problem is not how to organize or to administer or to teach school classes, but how best to help human beings learn.

We have all become quite used to operating these standard social vehicles: budget, school boards, buildings, curricula, classrooms, elementary grades, secondary schools, P.T.A.'s attendance officers, guidance set-ups, supervisory staffs, salary schedules, state department requirements and all kinds of records and reports. As new problems have arisen, the system has been extended to add new subjects, departments, personnel, institutes, duties and sources of conflict. It has grown like the old Ptolemaic astronomy, so cumbersome, that a real simplification such as Copernicus introduced, now seems in order. Operating the complex.

Operating of educational machinery, so many hours a day, so many days a year, has become our main business. If some pupils don't learn well within this framework, we find the fault in their low IQ's or cultural disadvantages. We conveniently forget that our professional goal is simply to aid learners, not to fulfill requirements or to maintain standards or to turn out graduates. If we take a good fresh look at who needs to learn what, and forget for a while about the cumbersome mechanism called a school system, we may find the job much simpler than it now seems.

Pre-school

Consider little children: Two-year olds, and three-year olds. They are learning every waking minute of every day. What help do they need? They need a variety of play-objects, they need a sympathetic, understanding grown-up who listens to them and talks to them. They need music and picture books and stories and crayons and clay. Some homes provide all of these. Some do not. So let's see to it that in their own homes or in play schools, these aids to learning are made available to the otherwise deprived. Let's do it as simply and inexpensively as possible, but let's be sure it is done. The heart of the problem is this young person or adult who will listen to the children, talk to them, play with them, give them access to interesting materials and assist them with discrimination, only when the children can't achieve something good by their own efforts. One such person to--say--five two-year olds or eight three-year olds. For as many hours every day as cannot well be provided at home. And all the year around.

Please do not hurry to translate what I've just said into numbers of professionally certified teachers with M.A. degrees, working under supervisors, in shiny new public school buildings from 9:00 to 12:00 or 1:00 to 4:00 five days a week for a ten month school year. Keep to the essence of the job. All we need is some place where one understanding teen-ager or adult, with a good vocabulary and a warm interest in toddlers can spend some hours interacting with children whose parents for one reason or another can't do this. Perhaps there will have to be several "shifts" of these adults, varying in sex, race, age and level of education. Some homes will need only a few hours of supplement each day; children from other homes may need care that covers all waking hours. Some groups may meet in homes, some in parks, some in playrooms; we may or may not need to construct special units for them.

Reading

But let's continue the story of how we help learners. Sometime in the age period four to seven, all children should learn to read. This is no tremendous deal, if we can keep free of the routine mechanisms of elementary education. Someone needs to sit down with each child or small group of learners and encourage each to proceed at his own rate from picture stories to reading stories. The material and the approach should provide a cumulative series of successes. This will probably go more smoothly if it is not rigidly scheduled, but can be adapted to the readiness of each learner. There will be no need for a category of fast-learners or slow-learners. Each will learn to read and to read fairly well, but at his own pace and with quite a variety of books, differing in subject matter as well as in level of difficulty. Cubicles in the library might be a good place for groups to meet.

Other Media

Reading is not all. I recently reviewed a manuscript for an educational journal in which one of our colleagues said, "If the school cannot teach a child to read, there is nothing else of importance that it can teach him." Of course, every child should learn to read, and very few of them require professional teachers who have taken graduate courses in the pedagogy of elementary reading to insure this, but are there not innumerable important learnings which are not dependent on reading? Youngsters can learn important truths about themselves and other people; they can learn to swim, to dance and to saw a board; they can paint and sing and enjoy Nature; they can experience democracy in organizational life and develop ethical aspirations--all without relying on print. It may be that the use of printed matter, to the virtual exclusion of excursions, interviews, museums, movies, tape recordings, radio and television programs, is the academic sin most responsible for making disadvantaged children miserable. Consider the difference between how a child learns in school and the way he learns after school and week-ends. If we would restrain, for a time, our impulse to fit the child into our prescribed pattern of studies, and undertake, instead, to accompany him (or them) on the natural round of explorations, curiosities and projects, we might uncover an impressive amount of openness to learning by means other than print. Most disadvantaged children utilize mainly the good, old-fashioned, "oral-aural" communication pattern. Speech and events seem to them more vital than print, even though they are well able to read.

Going Directly to Our Goals

The approach I am suggesting is that we return to the simple elements of a teacher helping a learner. I fear we may have developed what is called "the public school system" to the point where it really impedes teaching.

Let me illustrate with an experience of mine this past year at the college level. Like almost all colleges, Newark State College, where I have been teaching, wants its students to acquire something call a "general" or "liberal" education. We want them to become intellectually curious, knowledgeable about our world, aesthetically responsive, to think objectively and critically, to write good English, to be responsible citizens and to cherish worthy ideals. To accomplish these goals, the colleges have set up a complicated system of required courses, scheduled in sections, each with its allotted hours, assignments, recitations, tests and marks. Any relationship to the objectives has faded from attention. The teaching apparatus grinds on its inexorable way. I asked my colleagues, "What would happen if we simply and directly sought to achieve our real objectives?" We dared the experiment. Two groups of freshmen--each a representative sample of the entering class--were excused from all the usual routines. Each met with one professor who was responsible for helping them as he saw fit, to achieve the desired liberal education. They made their own programs of reading, excursions, visits, discussions, invited lecturers, etc. As a result, the students in one year moved from the passive dependence of almost all freshmen to a degree of initiative in learning, of self-direction and responsible work which is rare even in seniors. They read widely; kept in touch with current events; enjoyed new forms of art and music; wrote research papers which again would have done credit in form and content, to seniors. We found we did not really need all our academic apparatus of registration, required courses, ability grouping, required readings, attendance records, regular lectures, quizzes, and grading systems. We didn't even need the excellent guidance and counseling system the college had set up. All we needed was one teacher meeting with sixteen students. Why sixteen to one? Because that is the present ratio of students to faculty in the rest of the college. By eliminating all the elaborate overgrowth of college procedures on which most of us have become dependent, we could return simply to helping the learners learn.

Since this conference has a special concern for service to disadvantaged youth, I'd like to report that in each group of sixteen there were several students from very limited backgrounds who would, in all probability, have become failures and drop-outs in the regular curriculum. No student in the simplified program--we called it "Individualized General Education"--rated as a failure or even a near failure. Every one of them made commendable progress and is eager for more study.

Parent Education or Parent Surrogates

Consider now another dimension of our work with children from limiting backgrounds. For those whose parents are chronically hostile or indifferent, we have no choice but to build new social units which will better meet the emotional as well as the physical and intellectual needs of growing youth. This means boarding schools. Not the opprobrious "training schools" designed for delinquents, but schools modelled on those to which upper-class families send their boys at about age eleven. The decision of the Soviet Union a few years ago to move as rapidly as feasible toward a system of boarding schools ("internats") was based primarily on the character-building possibilities of institutions which can structure the whole day of the pupil. They were designed, as I understand the plan, to give a superior quality of education, but preference in admission is given to children whose homes are unable to give the best of care.

How many such schools will we need? In populations of delinquent youth, the proportion of incorrigibly incompetent or rejecting parents has been found to be as high as 50 per cent; in non-delinquent control groups from the same areas, about 10 per cent (Merrill, 1947; Glueck and Glueck, 1950). A preliminary estimate might be that a city should now plan to provide really excellent boarding schools for about 10 per cent of its child population. Another prediction would be that a good school of this kind should not enroll more than 400 pupils.

Most parents, even though themselves limited in education and in economic resources, love their children and want to help them achieve success beyond the level reached by the parents. Their children are better off living at home.

In most families, parents need more guidance from the school than they now receive, and this is especially true for the culturally disadvantaged. Programs of parent education have fallen far short of what is needed, partly because our thinking has been confined within the institutional framework of courses, lectures, and P.T.A.'s. A better model is that of the home visitor. He or she can talk with the parent in the home setting and focus on the specific problems of the particular family. This should not preclude some neighborhood gatherings for therapeutic group discussion of the joys and problems of parenthood. These can probably better take place in someone's parlor or kitchen (with coffee and cookies) than in school facilities. Building group cohesion among neighbors will be an important by-product of extricating these educational activities from the school machinery. Another will be that where the extended family--cousins, aunts, uncles, grandparents, in-laws--still plays an important role, it can more easily be included.

The number of home visitors required for an adequate program may be roughly estimated at about one-third of the number of classroom teachers now employed. This would give each worker a case-load of 40-50 families. The fact that fathers are more often absent or inadequate in disadvantaged sub-cultures suggests that most of the home visitors as well as most of the classroom teachers might well be men. There is a serious lack of admirable male models with whom boys can identify. The probability is that only one generation would require such saturated attention; those who have been better brought up will be able to do a better job as parents, and will need less help than do the parents today who suffer from generations of misconception and neglect.

While parent education will be the main project of the home visitor, it should not be overlooked that they will contribute in important ways also to improving the health of the children, their use of recreational facilities, their entrance into vocations, their awareness of needed civic action, and their ethical character. A substantial portion of the objectives of public education, as expressed in the Seven Cardinal Principles and many similar formulations can be better achieved by work within nurturant families and neighborhoods than by any courses offered in the school classrooms. Indeed, if we were forced to choose in any city slum area between enough teachers to give the usual academic work in arithmetic, English, history, and science, and enough home visitors to bring up one generation with good health, warm interpersonal relations, realistic ambitions, awareness of world affairs, high ideals and skill in community action, we would be wise to choose the latter. Any subject matter deficiencies can easily be remedied later; basic character defects are very hard to correct.

Vocational Education

In schools and in neighborhoods, we need closer connection with the work life. Most lower class and working class parents value school primarily because they think it helps children to attain better and more secure jobs. Most adolescents who neglect school work and become drop-outs do so because they see so little connection between school requirements and their vocational success. Whatever else education may do for disadvantaged youth--and we are not minimizing any cultural values--it must clearly and obviously help them get good jobs.

So, again, the function of the school is enlarged. It is not enough to see that pupils graduate from the usual curriculum. They need to know more than we now teach about the work of the world, how it is changing, what preparation is required, and where and when and how this can be gotten. They also need to have established good habits of regular and productive work. This means, I think, that all adolescents should spend part time actually earning money on respectable jobs. Every school should be in close touch with the potential employers in its area. The division between what can better be taught in classrooms and what can better be taught on the job, needs to be re-examined. Teen-age pupils should be working at jobs which educators have helped to design and which remain under educational supervision. Greater involvement of the business and manufacturing concerns in the educative process should be a major goal. The gap between school and work will diminish. Education and up-grading will work hand-in-hand.

A good work program could well cut the school facilities needed for teen-agers by as much as one half. If we return to first principles and see the educator as simply coaching the learner as needed in his actual operating situation, we will avoid setting up expensive vocational equipment within school buildings. If adolescents average half-time in school and half-time on the job (for some the ratio will be more time at school; for others, more time at work) the classroom seats needed will be substantially reduced.

The Drive to Work

The spirit of achievement, the ambition for excellence and the disciplines of application, are central needs of disadvantaged youth. To foster these attitudes, young people need assurance that the pathway toward success is open. The most convincing evidence comes from their own experience of success, recognition and promotion on real jobs. This can helpfully be supplemented by discussions in which young people from similar neighborhoods who have been unusually successful, share their experiences with our students.

Achievement motives should operate throughout our schools, not only in the work program. It is a serious misunderstanding of mental hygiene and of progressive education which accepts complacency and contentment. Dewey and Kilpatrick were as much concerned with intellectual striving as have been any of their critics. Happiness is not enough, but the job in achieving one's own goals is much greater than the satisfactions of taking life easy. When we urge life-centered objectives in education, we are proposing a more challenging, not a less challenging, program.

Group Support

The unhappy fact now is that many young people, never having had the pre-school and family and more dynamic school and work programs which we are proposing, are alienated, apathetic, and without much achievement aspiration. The best technique we know for changing such attitudes is by developing new group norms. One recalls Lewin's experiment on family diets, Bavelas' impact on norms of factory production, and the successes of organizations like Alcoholics Anonymous. When a cohesive group decides on a goal and helps its members, there is a high likelihood that this will be attained. Too much of the effort to rehabilitate drop-outs has relied on work with individuals. If a street gang of twelve-year olds should adopt the goal of getting all its members into college, they would probably succeed better than any other organized approach. The school, in the past, has enrolled individual pupils in the artificial aggregates called classes. What we are proposing is that the school profit by the experience of Youth Board workers with street gangs and cellar clubs, and change its approach. In many areas where gangs or other less formal cohesive groups exist (e.g., Whyte's Street Corner Society) these should be the units within which educators work. The group members can give one another the kind of stimulation, encouragement, correction and support which has proven so valuable in those families which strive to help children succeed at school.

Good education for disadvantaged youth requires that they shall not be separated out from other youths. One of the most obvious of the new demands upon public schools is that every child shall have abundant experiences with age-mates of other races, other faiths, and other socio-economic classes. I would add to this, the proposal that youth today need more contact with the world-wide community. The little experiments in international living--American youth in homes abroad, and visitors from Africa, Asia, South America and Europe, in our own local communities--have been productive of excellent, persisting trans-national interests. They could so easily be multiplied. Consider, for example, that the total added cost, if a child from Ghana lives for a school year in homes in America, while his opposite number, from the United States, is living, studying and working somewhere in Africa, amounts only to two round-trips plus some administrative expenses. Perhaps special rates could be worked out with airlines and steamship companies for off-season transport. Maybe the vast array of military transport which stands idle could be employed.

The results of extending the live-abroad program might well be: (1) better understanding of and livelier interest in world affairs for both the travelers and the hosts; (2) much clearer awareness of the strengths and limitations of one's own culture; (3) real mastery of a foreign language; (4) satisfaction of more of the people. If school included travel abroad it would certainly be less dull.

Conclusion

We have taken a brief, challenging look at nine dimensions along which schools need to enlarge their functions: (1) pre-school; (2) reading; (3) other media; (4) elimination of "failures"; (5) parent education or parent surrogates; (6) vocational education; (7) group support for achievement motives; (8) integration across lines of race, faith and class; and (9) experiences across lines of nationality. In each instance we have applies our thesis, that to attempt to meet the enlarged objectives by extending the operations customary in our existing school set-up will be self-defeating. We need a fresh start, aiming simply and directly at each target. We shall find that these aims can be fulfilled more efficiently and at less cost, if we do not try to incorporate them within the bureaucracy of traditional schooling. When we diagnose each task, and employ only the facilities and personnel required for it, the enlarged program begins to seem feasible.

We should not, however, minimize the increase in financial support which our proposals will require. When we go to school boards and communities for this kind of money, we can expect resistance. It is true that, in the long run, society's investment will be returned in the greater productive efficiency of those who would otherwise have to be dealt with as unemployable, relief cases, vagrants, delinquents, and criminals. Even if this were not true, however, a democratic society is obligated to spend what is necessary to evoke and to develop the potential of its citizens.

Resistance to well-designed projects for pre-school service, family visitors, boarding schools, cooperative school work opportunities, group enlistment and integration, will be led, I predict, by some of the most privileged persons in our communities. If we get the needed support for educating the disadvantaged, it will be only by first re-educating the advantaged. The problem of the culturally deprived persists only because of the problem of the culturally privileged.

REPORT OF PLENARY DISCUSSION OF GOODWIN WATSON'S PAPER

We ask ourselves, "Who destroys the inherent initiative, creativity and curiosity of pupils?" "How do existing educational systems contribute to their motivational deficit?" But are answers to these questions necessary to correct the condition? Countervailing action can be taken even if causes are not precisely known. Listening to two and three-year old children is more important than talking to them; listening does not require an advanced degree in education. School representatives need to spend time in homes as consultants to families with severe problems. In extreme cases boarding schools for children from particularly inadequate homes may be a necessary part of any character education program. However, character education for effective citizenship is not accomplished by adding appendages to existing structures.

Why are not many teachers aware of the characteristics of underprivileged children? We need to revise teacher training in view of historical change and new knowledge. Many children were not in the same disadvantaged situation a few decades ago. Their security has been shattered. This is a relatively new phenomenon in big cities, due to the acceleration of technological progress. Even if this is not wholly true and the disadvantaged condition just was less visible in the past, remedial action is indicated. This is true regardless of how long the problem has been with us.

If solutions are so simple, why isn't more being done? Some obstacles to corrective action lie within the family. For example, educational disabilities, handicaps, or learning blocks play a defensive function in the neurotic equilibrium of many families. In some cases, for example, the reading block of a child has held the family together as a rallying point isolated from the real problems. Improvement of reading increased the family tensions and anxieties.

Another obstacle to corrective action is the assumed lack of sophistication in the culture regarding socialization processes, a lack which is nonexistent. The problem is one of knowledge transmission. Behavioral science knowledge is unknown to most educational practitioners and what is known is suspect. Behavioral scientists and educators need to work together, with parents and other lay people in making sensible practical application of new knowledge. There is also need for cross germination of total community services down to the nursery school level; schools cannot do the job alone. Not only is there need for increased integration and coordination of services to families, but also increased understanding of problems of parents.

Disadvantaged youth have learned within their own culture much of which is not functional to the larger culture. Thus, there is a need to broaden the scope of education from school to the family, peer group and neighborhood.

Some questions concerning proposed boarding schools were: What is the optimal degree of homogeneity-heterogeneity? At what age should they begin? What should be criteria for admission? How would they avoid becoming collections of social debris? The USSR utilizes a heterogeneous mix in its boarding schools but gives admission preference to the disadvantaged. It is important to attract and hold students without enforcing attendance. If we are to avoid making them collections of social debris, it will be necessary to strive to make these schools better than day schools. Otherwise a backlash could occur where marginal or even acceptable day school pupils might alter their behavior negatively to become eligible for the boarding schools. This has happened in the past. A possible way of coping with this problem would be to rotate attendance at the the boarding school, its purpose being to revive motivation, initiative and creativity in students so they could again profit from day school. But for this to "take," the day school will have to be modified to maintain rather than stifle these students' sentiments and talents.

Are we imposing our middle class values on the so-called disadvantaged? What percentage of the disadvantaged, for example, want to change or should be moved? A partial answer to this dilemma is to enable participation of "changees" in the planning for change; it is necessary to work with people and assist them to change. However, this still makes the assumption that these people are miserable and desire change but simply do not know how to accomplish it. Thus it becomes important to provide people with a real and understandable choice of alternatives; not just visionary ideas but actual possibilities.

EDUCATING INTELLIGENCE: A STUDY IN THE PREVENTION OF MENTAL RETARDATION*

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The following is a summary of a study recently completed which dealt with aspects of the very broad, complex, and significant problem of the relationship between social class background, on the one hand, and intellectual and academic growth, on the other. More specifically, we were concerned with some of the ways in which intervention into the preschool lives of lower-class children reduces the likelihood that such children will develop intellectual and academic deficits so frequently found in youngsters from such backgrounds. At this moment, data are being analyzed from the third, and last, major evaluation of all children--experimental and control--who had participated in this project. It is difficult--if not hazardous--to now estimate the significance of our findings. However, as in our previous evaluation (Spring, 1963), the direction of the data is in support of, rather than antagonistic to, our research hypothesis that...intelligence is educable, i.e., is a function of practice and training. More importantly, it should be pointed out that the study to be discussed incorporated several design properties that may make it somewhat unique in the realm of preschool research studying aspects of cultural deprivation: (1) our subject population was carefully and systematically randomized into experimental and control groups; (2) in the formal evaluation of all children in the project a "blind" utilizing examination of psychologists who administered the various tests employed, disclosed complete naivete on the part of psychologists insofar as their knowledge of who were and who were not experimental and control children; (3) after initiation of the intervention programs, the project staff was able to control attrition on subject population to an unusually high degree, i.e., between year two and year three of this project, not one experimental or control child was lost or discontinued; of the twelve children originally selected as meeting project criteria and subsequently dropped from the study, only four of these were in any way involved with the project past the initial diagnostic stage; these four children, two experimental and two control, moved out of the geographic area prior to the conclusion of this study; therefore, this total of 74 children who completed the project including both the pilot sample and the main group, represents a very high percentage of all children originally selected to participate; (4) the project staff was able to maintain a very high degree of parent cooperation throughout the course of the study; for example, two days prior to the completion of the project, 41 parents attended a social gathering, sponsored by the project staff including here control as well as experimental families. In summary, then, our preliminary analyses of the final data appear to indicate that findings are, at least, in the desired direction--although probably equivocal. Secondly, the study utilized methodological procedures that may warrant the attention of other research workers engaged in similar endeavors.

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One of the most distinctive and important problems which has come to concern American social and behavioral sciences involves the nature and correlates of social class status. Much of the pioneer work in this problem area comes from fields (e.g., sociology, anthropology, political science) little concern with the practical implications of research findings, which is not to say that workers in these fields were unaware that a fundamental concept like social class had obvious significance for political action, social planning, and social organization. More often than not, it was not until a particular problem erupted in varying degrees into national consciousness that it was viewed and studied in terms of social class variables with the aim of developing a more effective way of coping with the problem. Mental retardation is a clear example of an important problem area which only in recent years has been systematically discussed in terms of the social class variable. However, it would be a gross distortion of the history of the field if the view was communicated that interest in the relationship between mental retardation and social class was of recent origin. Such an interest was early guaranteed, so to speak, by the inescapable fact that the largest sub-group in the mentally retarded population was found in a certain part of our society. We refer here, of course, to what over the years has variously been called the garden-variety, or sub-cultural, or cultural-familial, or familial defective individual. At least five characteristics of these individuals have long been described: (1) by traditional methods of evaluation their intelligence was subnormal, (2) the intellectual level and social adequacy of the parents appeared also to be subnormal, (3) there was no discernible central nervous system pathology, (4) they were born into and reared in a culture milieu which was "inferior" to other strata of our society, and (5) they represented a disproportionately large part of the case load of many social agencies. Unfortunately, the awareness of a relationship between this type of mental retardation and social-cultural variables was neither related to the theoretical and research developments on concepts of social class nor resulted in research of the problem on the part of those in the field of mental retardation.

The early recognition of this relationship between the particular type of mental retardation and social class factors (implied in the label "sub-cultural") quickly became caught up in the nature-nuture controversy. What is important about this controversy is that it did not give rise to systematic attempts to study the problem by planned interventions and changes in this particular social milieu. Interventions in the forms of sterilization and separation of child from family by institutionalization were not done for the purposes of research. In addition, the consequences of such interventions, however justified they may be in the individual case, raise as many (if not more) problems than they resolve. In any event, we are not aware that such interventions have thrown light either on the nature-nurture problem or on the role of social class factors on the type of mental retardation of which we have been speaking.

The situation today is quite different. Whereas formerly there was awareness of the importance of social-cultural variables, today this awareness is being reflected in a variety of research efforts to study the lower-class culture in order to clarify the relationship between social class variables and intellectual and academic performance. Several factors account for this encouraging change in research emphasis. First, our society, having come face-to-face with the enormity of the problem of mental retardation, has begun to make funds available for research at a level undreamed of in the past. Second, the recognition that institutionalization was a grossly inadequate means of handling the problem particularly in regard to the lower-class mentally retarded child, emphasized the need for studying ways of maintaining these individuals in the community. Third, if community schools were to be an effective vehicle for the socialization of the lower-class child, i.e., to maximize his potential for intellectual and academic growth, the pedegogical approach has to take into account the culture from which the child comes. Fourth, there was increased recognition of the possibility that if social-cultural variables were important in the intellectual growth in the lower-class child, research efforts would have to be focused on the preschool development of such children. Fifth, although the lower-class groups contributed disproportionately to the mentally retarded population, particularly if those with borderline intellectual status are included, it was of theoretical and practical importance to understand why more lower-class were not mentally retarded--a question identical in principle to that raised in regard to the relationship of juvenile delinquency and lower-class status.

Our review of the literature centering around the effects of preschool experiences on the intellectual performances of children coming from backgrounds, or geographical foci in our community, known to contribute disproportionately to the mentally retarded population seems to permit the following conclusions:

1) At the present time there appears to be a marked resurgence of interest in mental retardation generally and in the cultural-familial type of case in particular (Benda, Squires, Ogonik, & Wise, 1963; Blatt, 1960; Clarke & Clarke, 1955; Ginzberg & Bray, 1953; Jenkins & Paterson, 1961; Masland, Sarason, & Gladwin, 1958; Riessman, 1962) whereas in earlier decades the cultural-familial cases (variously labeled "Kallikak," garden-variety, sub-cultural) were viewed as a distinct etiological grouping of genetic origin, they tend today to be viewed as part of that much larger problem group of our society given the label "culturally deprived".

2) There seems to be general agreement that genetic processes represent an important source of influence on the biological foundations of intelligence (Jervis, 1954; Michal-Smith, 1956; Tarjan, 1959; Wallin, 1956; and Yannett, 1957). There also seems to be an increasing recognition that far too little is known about the nature of intelligence (except, perhaps, that is is vastly more complex than is indicated by the usual I.Q. score) to justify drawing anything resembling specific hypotheses about the role played by genetic factors (Charles, 1953; Coffey & Wellman, 1936; DeGroot, 1948; Heber, 1959; McCandless, 1952; Pinneau, 1961; Skeels & Harms, 1948; Skodak & Skeels, 1949; Tuddenhan, 1948; and Yarrow, 1961). Put in another way, the heated nature-nurture controversies of the past have been superseded by the recognition that earlier formulations were over simplifications which served the participants' personal opinions far better than it did clarification of the problem.

3) The above change in viewing the nature-nurture controversy, together with the emergence of cultural deprivation as a major problem in our society, seemed to set the stage for systematic attack, both in research and in social action, on ways in bringing about environmental changes that might prevent intellectual deficits. Put more positively, the aim seems to be to intrude into and to change environments in order to determine the degree

to which the intelligence of these individuals could be educated, i.e., to evaluate what one "could bring out" under changed conditions (Callet, Gatchell, & Hamilton, 1961; Hill, 1948; Kennedy, 1963; Lanson, 1938; Lorge, 1945; Mayo, 1962; Skeels & Dye, 1939; Skeels, Updegraff, Wellman & Williams, 1958).

4) There are relatively few systematic studies which bear directly on the effects of planned intervention on the intellectual development of culturally deprived or cultural-familial mentally retarded children. The studies which have been done vary greatly in methodological sophistication, quality, and quantity of descriptive detail about such important variables as selection of cases, differences in contrasting environments, and control of bias in collection of data (Fouracre, Connor, & Goldberg, 1962; Kirk, 1952; Kirk, 1958; Skeels & Dye, 1939; and Skeels, Updegraff, Wellman, & Williams, 1958). The findings tend to suggest--more or less mildly--the conclusion that planned interventions have the predicted effect of increasing intelligence test scores, although it is by no means clear what aspects of the environment are the most important ones. Perhaps the most cautious conclusion one should draw is that available studies do not allow one to conclude that the problem is solved.

5) It may well be that one of the major difficulties encountered by recent studies may in itself turn out to be one of the most illuminating aspects of the development of children from culturally deprived or cultural-familial backgrounds. We refer here to the fact that although they can be found in great numbers in the school setting, the mildly mentally retarded children of preschool age without central system defect were extremely difficult to locate even when special efforts of case finding were made in neighborhoods where one would expect to find them in fair number (Fouracre, Connor, & Goldberg, 1962; Kirk, 1958). One possibility of course, is that the intelligence tests measure different abilities of behaviors, in the preschool period than the school years. However, there is no evidence that this possibility could account for more than a part of the difficulty in case finding. Another possibility assumes that, in as yet undetermined ways, introducing these children into the school setting maximized a conflict between the home and school cultures producing attitudes toward learning and self that negatively effect test performance. In any event, if the difficulty in case finding is a real one, the explanation of it becomes of major significance in future theorizing and research.

It is probably not necessary to elaborate on the final conclusion that research involving planned interventions in the lives of young children is unusually complex--in terms of conception, execution, and interpretation and recognition of this complexity should influence one's perspective of the work of earlier investigators and moderate one's expectations about the speed with which answers will be forthcoming in the future.

Although this study was generally concerned with the education of intelligence of children, and specifically with the education of the intelligence of mentally retarded children, the final criteria for subject selection were not concerned with whether or not subjects were mentally retarded. The reason for this, as well as the criteria that have been used, are integral to the design of this study and deserve discussion here. The criteria of location, age, and condition of subjects to be used reflect our evaluation of the evidence of previous studies that were briefly mentioned in the preceding section. It will be remembered that despite the high incidence of mild mental retardation without organic pathology in the lower-class strata of our communities (Fouracre, et al., 1961: Kennedy, et al., 1961; New York State Department of Mental Hygiene, 1955), there has been great difficulty in locating such cases of preschool age. This finding has led to two major hypotheses: (1) the reason these preschoolers cannot be identified is because of diagnostic naivete or inadequate tests; (2) identification is difficult and cases are infrequent because the retardation of school-aged children is a function of an interaction between pre and elementary school experiences rather than of abilities and inferred capacities of preschool children. Without rejecting the first alternative there is a fair amount of evidence that the second is an hypothesis that deserves careful consideration. Our current study was concerned with the second hypothesis.

Originally, it was the intent of this project to select preschool siblings of cultural-familial retarded school-aged children in order to determine whether a variety of preschool experiences would significantly effect their academic efficiency. From the outset, a diagnosis on mental retardation for these preschool children was not a criterion for selection. This procedure or decision reflects the conclusion that difficulties of previous investigators were not methodological in origin, a conclusion congruent with our own experiences in a variety of educational and clinical settings. In addition, we felt it reasonable to assume that if one waits until such a diagnosis is possible, it then becomes more difficult, and perhaps impossible, to reverse the retardation. We felt it equally reasonable to assume that if a familial group of older retarded siblings were selected as a reference point, the younger siblings could be expected to develop in somewhat similar patterns without outside intervention. Therefore, subjects were originally to be selected from a population of preschool children (C.A.'s 2-5) where there was a strong likelihood of mild mental retardation--without accompanying central nervous system involvement--within the families of these children. In order further to maximize the likelihood that our preschool population could be expected (without intervention) eventually to function at a mildly mentally retarded level, the original criteria stipulated that subjects selected would have both a mentally retarded older sibling and a mentally retarded parent, both without any organic involvement. In summary, the original criteria were that subjects: (1) come from a lower social class, (2) be of preschool age, (3) have at least one older retarded sibling and (4) have at least one retarded parent. These criteria are very similar to those for cultural-familial retardation listed in the American Association on Mental Deficiency, Manual on Terminology and Classification in Mental Retardation (1959). Possible alternative procedures for case finding follow directly from the criteria: from lower-class environments, one would obtain lists either of (1) preschool children, or (2) mentally retarded school-aged children, or (3) retarded adults. The first alternative was eliminated as a possibility as adults having a history of mild mental retardation usually become assimilated into the population and often cannot be identified as being retarded. Therefore, in our initial thinking, the second alternative was selected as being practical and sound: lists would be obtained of mildly mentally retarded children in the public schools of a lower social class area and, if there was a preschool sibling, the parents would be interviewed in order to ascertain their intellectual functioning and to secure their cooperation for including their child in the study. It soon became apparent that this method of selection was unworkable. In the first seventeen cases reviewed (from a small pilot population obtained in Newton and Waltham, Massachusetts, during the fall and winter of 1961) it was found that children in special classes either do not, in general, have retarded parents (albeit former special class children or school failures) or that it is impossible to say anything--without a great deal of equivocation--about the level of intellectual functioning of their parents. Whether in this population there is a relationship between retardation in parents and children is a moot point, although our present experiences suggest that such a relationship is a weak one, if it exists at all. In addition, the determination of the intellectual level of the parents without direct testing (causing other very complicated problems) is clearly a vulnerable criterion. It was felt that even an extensive and costly search of school records would not give us this required information. It should also be added that school records were not always readily available and, when they were available, did not give meaningful and reliable information. To illustrate our difficulty in subject selection, utilizing our original criteria, we might discuss several families from this pilot group that presented themselves with very puzzling and ambiguous backgrounds. There were families having a child or two in a special class and and other children doing adequate or superior work. There was another family with children in special classes and one parent having attended special class; however, the other parent attended college for a period of time and one of the children is currently doing well in school. We were not sure what it meant to "attend a Southern Negro college for one year". We were advised by colleagues well acquainted with the Greater Boston areas that attending (in fact, graduating from) vocational high school does not preclude the possibility of mental retardation. We were further advised that not all children who attend special classes are mentally retarded nor do all who are mentally retarded attend special classes. We found it almost impossible to verify data given to us by parents about their educational background and we found it extremely difficult clearly to understand the intellectual functioning of their children presently enrolled in public schools.

There were several suspicions entertained by the project staff about our inability to locate unequivocal cultural-familial mental retardates. The most obvious and frequently discussed explanation of this phenomenon was that we had just not found the neighborhood sufficiently deprived to offer the candidates we were seeking. Although all of our children selected from this pilot group were clearly categorized in the lower-class (using the Warner Scale, 1960) and although there were sufficient references to the limited school attainments of parents and siblings, it was felt that it might be possible to find a more suitable geographic area to locate eligible subjects. It should be again stated that it was clear to us that these families did represent both characteristic lower-class socio-economic status and extraordinarily high incidences of school failure. This was manifested and verified in the Sweetser (1962) study of the social ecology of Metropolitan Boston. However, although we were content with our assignment of these families as certainly lower class and, possibly representative of the cultural-familial mentally retarded, we felt it incumbent upon ourselves to find areas more traditionally and unequivocally designated as severely culturally deprived. A section of approximately one square mile in Cambridge, Massachusetts, was finally selected for study for several reasons. First, it was considered by Sweetser to be one of the socially and economically deprived areas of Metrolopitan Boston. This area has a high percentage of non-white population, working mothers, residential instability, crowded housing, low family income, male unemployment, low occupational status, and inferior educational attainment. For several generations it has been the highest "delinquency area" of Cambridge. Two, federally-supported low-income housing projects form the central core of this community and the majority of families eventually selected for the study reside in these projects. Other families live in tenement houses in varying degrees of disrepair, some being in better condition than project apartments and others in poorer condition. The vast majority of families in the area are marginally economically independent or are on aid to dependent children or other public welfare. Although the case-finding team was able to identify and enlist the cooperation of numerous families that, from any consideration, must be classified as severely socially and economically deprived, we continued to be faced with ambiguous and puzzling evidence bearing on the unequivocal designation of families as cultural-familial. Although these families could easily be categorized as culturally deprived and exhibiting high incidences of school failure, both of parents and children, we were unable to verify the intellectual level of parents nor were we able to always understand the school attainments of children presently enrolled as students. As with our pilot sample, our problems were due mainly to difficulty in ascertaining intellectual levels of parents without the obvious embarrassments and complications that would accrue in attempting to evaluate them directly. In addition, we had some difficulty in understanding both the school records of children presently enrolled and the inconsistent school records within families. Therefore, we were forced to conclude that, although all of our families could be classified as culturally deprived and although there were inordinate amounts of school failure and inattention to intellectual stimulation in these homes, and not withstanding the fact that some of our families could be classified as "cultural-familial mental retardates" using the American Association on Mental Deficiency Nomenclature, it appeared from our studies of cases that the occurence of mental retardation in the parent is relatively independent of its occurence in his child. Because of this, it was not possible to obtain a clear sample of any size if the AAMD criteria for cultural-familial mental retardation were adhered to.

The final criteria adapted for subject selection did not include their having siblings in a special class or having a retarded parent, although as it turned out a great many of our subjects met these criteria. The most important criterion employed was that the subjects had to reside in a highly deprived area characterized by high delinquency rates, a considerable proportion of school drop outs and school failures, low occupational status of parents, and run-down homes. The other criteria employed were: there was no evidence that the family was temporarily not living in the area, that the level of parental education or occupation was unusual for that area, and that neurological examination of the child revealed no central nervous system pathology. Finally, the parents had to give their consent for inclusion of the child in the project (either as an experimental or control subject). As a result of what we believe to have been a thorough search for eligible children employing a variety of reasonable methods to find subject-candidates, 69 subjects from the Cambridge areas were found to meet the criteria. Five were ultimately dropped because mothers never sent them to the preschool program, two experimental children moved out of the area, two control children moved out of the State--then reducing the main sample to 60 children. Together with the pilot sample (drawn from socio-economically deprived areas in Newton and Waltham, Massachusetts) there was a total of 74 cases meeting all criteria and accepted as part of the project.

What are the implications of our case finding experiences? It is obvious that the criteria finally employed do not allow us directly to generalize our findings or conclusions to the cultural-familial mentally retarded group, as that group has traditionally been defined. This restriction may be far less important than it seems in light of our experiences, similar in principle, to that of previous investigators insofar as their difficulty in locating the preschool cultural-familial child is concerned. The degree of difficulty which we and others have encountered (our preschool population contains a small incidence of children who can be psychometrically designated as being mentally retarded, this is in spite of our attempts to locate the most deprived families with the most severe social and intellectual limitations), when taken together with the relative ease of locating cultural-familial children during the school years, suggests that an explanation in terms of poor measuring instruments is far from a complete one. It may be that for reasons now poorly understood, or not even as yet stated, cultural-familial families exist in far fewer numbers that in earlier decades. This is not to say that there are not certain neighborhoods and, in fact, particular families that breed large numbers of so-called familial mentally retarded children. Nor do we imply that these neighborhoods are decreasing in size. The point that we are emphasizing is that it is becoming more apparent that the clear-cut easily categorized familial family is less and less available for study and more and more difficult to explain. For example, if one were to review some of the earlier family studies presented by Goddard and other workers, it would have been fairly easy to categorize certain families as familial, based on currently accepted criteria. In those families it was usual for both mother and father to be in special classes or to be early school dropouts or school failures. It was also quite usual to find several of the children either in special classes, institutional programs, or school failures. Our experiences have disclosed that those families that are found often present such confusing discrepancies with the stereotype "cultural-familial mental retardation" that it is very difficult to designate them as familial even though they meet the minimum criteria. When one considers the dramatic changes which have occurred in our society since the early decades of this century, it is by no means far-fetched to assume that they have operated to reduce the number of such families. Acceleration of urbanization of our society, the great advances in transportation and communication, the quality of social agencies--these and other changes conceivably may have had the consequence of reducing the number of cultural-familial families.

Although the nature of our subject population restricts us from generalizing directly to a population of cultural-familial mentally retarded children, it does seem that we can generalize, however cautiously, to a much larger population. It will be remembered that the basic consideration in selecting subjects was that they come from an environment which had a history of producing a high percentage of school failures. They are characterized by low income, high unemployment, high delinquency rates, a great dependency on social welfare agencies, and high incidence of school failure in the local schools that exist within these neighborhoods. Not only is there assumed to be a great similarity in the symptomatic social behavior within these neighborhoods but it is also homogeneous from area to area. It is, of course, plausible to entertain the question of different kinds of communities. However, for the purposes of this study, it seemed reasonable to assume that within the variety of circumstances that exist in lower-class environments, there exists a substantial core of communality which is more a function of the conditions that exist within the environment than it is a function of the biological characteristics of the children that exist within these environments. Without making any judgement as to how much weight can be given to the environmental characteristics on the one hand and the biological characteristics on the other, it was assumed that the weighting of the environmental characteristics was sufficient to make interventions of the kind we designed generally applicable. In summary, the selection of subjects for this study had two major dimensions: in the first place, we obtained a sample of children whose probability of school success is by no means high; and, in the second place, this sample seemed to be not unlike other children in other communities that have in common a high incidence of school failure.

In testing the research hypothesis that intelligence is educable and, at least in some instances, low intelligence is a manifestation of a deprived experience, we were presented with certain design problems that have equal significance for the research presently being proposed. The study of deprivation and its relationship to social and school performance must, by its very nature, be either partially or wholly retrospective. We cannot randomly assign children to experimental and and treatment groups and then systematically deprive the experimental children of certain experiences in order to observe the effects of this deprivation. Our legal codes and moral ethics demand that we utilize existing cultural educational situations and design studies which will give us insight into the effect of deprivation by indirection. Stated another way, the most proper study of deprivation would examine the null hypothesis that certain kinds of social and intellectual deprivation will not cause differences between groups of children who are exposed and those who are not exposed. Instead, we are forced to study a less satisfactory null hypothesis: that children from a deprived living situation will not benefit from a stimulating school curriculum. This is a less satisfactory hypothesis because it puts the burden of proof on the curriculum that is used rather than on the deprivation, which is the object of the study. The significance of this latter approach is that deprivation cannot be systematically controlled and, therefore, cannot be considered to be a real experimental main effect. The main effect which is to be considered is whether or not a nursery school program will have any effect on children, described as deprived, as compared to the absence of a nursery school program upon children who are also described as deprived. Thus, the differentiation here is in the exposure or non-exposure to a nursery school program rather than in the absence or presence of deprivation or in the presence of different kinds of deprivation. As was previously discussed, the basic consideration in selecting subjects was that they come from an environment which had a history of producing a high percentage of school failures. There was no explicit attempt in our current study to select a typical lower-class community or to select typical children from the community selected. The reason for this was that a rigorously representative procedure was impossible to accomplish both because of the tremendous expense involved and because of the characteristics of lower-class communities. In such communities the researcher cannot carefully explain to all of the parents what research is and how it will be accomplished nor can he assume the environmental constancy that might (or might not) be expected in a middle-class environment. In spite of the fact that the selection of the community and the selection of the children within the community were not accomplished in a way so as to insure that they would be representative, it was felt that a study of obtainable children in any lower-class community could be extremely meaningful provided that the children could be randomly assigned to experimental and control groups. The difficulty here is whether any effects of the experimental procedure, if they prove to be significant, can be externally invalid even if the effects are true ones. This is to say that significant differences that are found to be vaild for the particular group of children in the study might not be generalizable to other groups of children in the same community or in other communities. This comes down to the question of whether the variability that exists within the sample of children that had been selected for this study is any greater than the variability between this sample and other possible samples of children in this community or in other communities. There is, of course, no way for us to fully resolve this question at the present time. Follow-up studies of these children in the years to come could certainly determine the extent to which they are more or less typical of all lower-class children but that they are not atypical and that their responses to being in a particular kind of preschool environment for two years will not be unlike the responses of other lower-class children because of the great similarities without resources. The study will have external validity to the extent that there is homogeneity across lower-class communities and within lower class communities with regard to their environmental effect upon the educational functioning of children that live within them. To the extent that there are biological determinants of behavior that are specific to different kinds of communities, there will be a question about external validity.

On the basis of our first evaluation during the case finding months, spring and summer, 1962, subjects were assigned to one control and two experimental groups (as described in detail in our book, group 1 was assigned as a control group, remaining at home with the family and not receiving any special educational treatment other than that which the family provided through their own resources;

group 2 was assigned to an enriched preschool environment;[1] group 3 was assigned to both an enriched preschool environment plus Responsive Environments as designed by Omar K. Moore) using a stratified random sampling. Strata were employed in order to increase the efficiency of the randomization to maximize within-group variability on the variables of chronological age, Binet IQ, and sex. The design called for two kinds of tests: (1) those which would be useful as diagnostic indicators of behavior in and out of the classroom and which would point to the detailed differences that might exist between the groups; and (2) a test that would serve as a criterion for academic potential, one that would be a good predictor for future school success. It was fairly clear that the most adequate test to fulfill the latter function was the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Test. This test has, for years, been shown to be somewhat effective in predicting future school success. Although we do not consider that this property of the Binet is particularly profound, it appears to be a test that has been carefully developed over a period of many years with each item worked on and appropriately devised so that it is more or less suitable to the age level to which it is directed. Thus the effect of averaging into one score the great variety of abilities maximizes the power of this test to be reliable and fairly stable over a period of years. One of the problems that we anticipated encountering was that the stability of the Binet is, in effect, a two-edged sword. From the literature it is clear that the test was designed to maintain stability, i.e., there was a purposeful attempt to construct this test in a way that would produce high reliability from year to year. Therefore, attempts to reflect the educability of intelligence through change scores in tested Binet intelligence, must take into consideration those properties of the Binet test that resist probabilities for this to occur. With respect to a series of tests that would be useful as diagnostic indicators of behavior in and out of the classroom and which would point to the detailed differences that might exist between the groups, the work of Meyers and Dingman (1960) on the domains of abilities of preschool children suggested a variety of tests and rating scales that could be used with children between the ages of two and five.

The analysis of our data, discussed at length in the aforementioned book, was concerned with two things: a description of the sample of children that we used in the study and an evaluation of the changes that took place over the period of time that the children were in the study. There were three primary dimensions and one secondary dimension to the data that were collected in this study. The primary dimensions were as follows: (1) pretesting versus posttesting; (2) experimental versus control; (3) experimental children with Responsive Environments versus experimental children without Responsive Environment. The secondary dimension was concerned with the differences between the two separate samples of children that were used (pilot--Newton and Waltham; main--Cambridge). It is secondary because the first group used was an exploratory one (N-14), selected in order to familiarize the research team with the problems to be involved in the nursery school setting, the typewriter situation, and case finding. In May, 1963, all of the experimental and control children in this study were given a battery of tests which included: The Stanford-Binet, The Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test, and The Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities. One phase of the evaluation of the results of this study are concerned with a statistical comparison of the experimental children with the control children on these three measures as well as comparisons between the two experimental groups of these three measures. In addition, there were reading readiness tests, sociograms, and other informal measures given to all the experimental children so that, in the latter comparison, these are included. Although the basic mode for the separation of the treatment groups as well as for the analysis of the data is a multivariate one, univariate tests were made on the Stanford-Binet, The Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test, and The Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities. The analysis of variance between groups show that the differences were consistent in that the experimental groups were superior to the control group on all of the post-tests. The Stanford-Binet Intelligence Test comparison reached statistical significance. Comparisons between the experimental group without Responsive Environments were not statistically significant. The number of times a child attended the laboratory made a great deal of difference in whether or not his test results changed from the pre-test to the post-test. In summary, the above analyses indicate, quite significantly, the effect of attendance on the intellectual development of experimental children in the project.

Final major preschool evaluations of children in the project were planned for and completed during May and June, 1964. Inasmuch as our data are currently being analyzed and this analysis will not be completed until after the publication of this volume, there is little we can say of a specific nature concerning this last evaluation. However, from what we have seen of our data, it appears as if some of the significant differences between experimental groups and the controls may not have held up on the final evaluation of the Preschool Study. It appears as if the controls made modest gains during the period between the 1963 evaluation and the 1964 evaluation and the experimental groups obtained both minor losses and modest gains during that period, the two conditions possibly contributing to a loss of significance in several of the aforementioned analyses. It should be mentioned that both experimental groups changed considerably--in the desired direction--in comparison with results of tested behavior obtained during initial evaluations at the beginning of the study, as did the control group.

It may be appropriate, at this time, to speculate about the little we are permitted to say with this incomplete data analysis. First, and possibly foremost, the above very brief presentation of the analysis of our data does not do justice to either the kinds of analyses that were accomplished or the data we have, which do not discourage us--and, in fact, lend certain support to our general hypothesis that intelligence is educable. On the other hand, it is fairly clear that this study will not demonstrate major differences on objective criteria, between experimental and control groups. Secondly, this causes one to reflect upon other studies that have recently been reported and suggest significant increments in measured intelligence and other indices of intellectual competency, working with children of approximately the same chronological ages and socio-economic backgrounds and utilizing "stimulating interventions" to obtain objectives analogous to ours. From reports we have seen in the literature, most--if not all--of these studies did not seem to provide for either adequate control groups, randomization of subjects into various treatment groups and/or the utilization of "blinds" in the assessment of children. Absence of any of the above factors may present an illusion of change that is not defensible insofar as the enforcement of scientific criteria. For example, positive changes in experimental groups (which our study is able to demonstrate in abundance), without direct comparison with controls, can only provide the researcher with very hazardous speculations. Further, our study has convinced us that the use of a "blind" decreases differences between experimental and control groups and, conversely, neglect in the rigorous employment of "blinds" will increase differences. Thirdly, a visual inspection and gross analysis of our data, discloses the gains made by the control children during the last year of this project were due to rather dramatic increases among six control children, three of them being siblings from one family. Certainly, it will be important for us to attempt to study these six children--especially this one family--as carefully as possible. Along these same lines, the project staff learned late in the Spring of June, 1964, that we may have unwittingly created an unwanted "experimental-type" group affecting a significantly large number of so-called control children. Quite ironically, our ability to gain the confidence of and persuade parents of experimental children to enroll them with us for the second year of preschool instead of the alternative decision, the public school kindergarten, caused a heretofore unique situation to develop in the public school which our project families normally feed into. On several visits to this local public school, we learned that, as a direct result of our project and the removal of large numbers of children who otherwise would have attended that school's kindergartens, these classes were able to maintain enrollments of less than a dozen children in each. Added to this complicating and unexpected situation was our observation that the kindergarten program at that school--certainly, at least, partially resulting from these very desirable enrollments--appeared to be a highly effective and enriching one. Although all of the above presents tantalizing and, to be honest, painful evidence of the vicissitudes and complexities of behavioral research and although we can do no more than to grossly analyze and speculate about the conditions this irony gave rise to, it may be important to ask--somewhat embarrassingly at this point--which children were the experimental and which were the controls, if this distinction can still be made. Lastly, and this may prove difficult to express adequately, if one's central preoccupation has been in testing the hypothesis that intelligence is educable it makes relatively little difference what any one of his studies discloses insofar as either affirming or denying the hypothesis. In the final analysis, he will either become discouraged with the hypothesis after repeated failures and, therefore, engage himself in other lines of research endeavors or, as is our position, regardless of the data--positive or discouraging--he will continue to seek the most efficient (and sufficient) periods to begin and conclude interventions and he will continue to study the varieties of possible intervention models that may have the greatest desired effects. To put it another way, as long as one maintains a genuine interest in an involvement with the hypothesis, this is one type of research where he is forced to continue studying it regardless of the outcome of his previous studies.

The above considerations lead us to believe that, in view of what we consider to have been careful--albeit interfered with--research procedures and what we consider to have been a highly stimulating and positive educational intervention, and because our data encourages rather than discourages us, there are at least two next logical steps in analyzing the hypothesis that intelligence is educable. First, we must provide for a follow-up study of all children involved in this project and we must continue special interventions with the experimental groups. At the present time, this follow-up is being conducted on a modest level for at least one more year. Secondly, in consideration of all we have learned in the aforementioned research, a study utilizing newborn twins has been designed to circumvent and prevent many of the problems encountered in this study. It is our hope to conduct this longitudinal twin study, concurrently with the follow-up of the preschool groups. Further, it would not be appropriate to discuss other research we intend to engage ourselves in subsequent to these two projects. However, of this we are fairly certain: Our problem will not find adequate resolution within the foreseeable future and, if the final study is ever completed, it will affirm our hypothesis and present an acceptable and useful theory.

Footnotes

1. The objective of our preschool curriculum was to provide what can be termed an optimal nursery school environment. We tried to accomplish this end in three principal ways: (1) by helping children to learn how to function socially in a group instruction situation so as to be maximally receptive to that instruction; (2) by providing a concentration of experiences designed to arouse curiosity and to promote attitudes of inquisitiveness and positiveness toward learning; and (3) by deliberately attempting to provide training in certain psychological functions generally considered to be fundamental to the later acquisition of academic skills in the primary grades. Certain categories of experiences or activities, or areas of concentration, were common throughout our preschool program and among all teachers involved in it: language development, visual discrimination, quantitative thinking, auditory discrimination, auditory memory, speech training, motor coordination, visual memory, and creative and imaginative thinking. It can be said that the nursery school program could be best described as having been experimental, emergent, and child-centered for the most part, adhering to the basic principles of any sound preschool program--but over and above this, focussing on the intensified development of pre-academic skills. In a real sense, one might say that our intervention consisted of an on-going, changing, complex social psychological setting having personal, interpersonal, educational, and cultural components. This is to say, we do not wish to unwittingly convey the impression that our currimulum was a separate variable, i.e. it had an existence and effect independent of the social psychological setting and the person employing it. Such independence never exists. On paper, it is possible to compare curricula independent of the setting and teacher; in practice it is impossible. To attribute consequence to _a_ curriculum, therefore, is to do more than oversimplify. It is to misrepresent the external reality. For this reason, two major chapters in our book deal with the curriculum: one centering about the psychological climate of the intervention and the other the formal curriculum, its contents and goals, materials used, tasks assigned, skills learned, and overall objectives of the daily routine.

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REPORT OF PLENARY DISCUSSION OF BURTON BLATT'S PAPER AND ARTHUR PEARL'S PAPER*

Can we add to intelligence? The incrementing of intelligence is a matter of practice and training, given proper interventions and stimulation. The analog of the four minute mile was used in reference to unknown intellectual potential of youth. We confuse how a child behaves with how he needs to behave. If we can reverse inappropriate behavior, we can certainly prevent it. The fact of intervention is more important than the methods used. In a sense, the curriculum is what the teacher did; one may not be able to replicate it. School ability and IQ of child and family are more independent of each other than has heretofore been believed. And there is as much heterogeneity in families as in the community.

The story of the wild boy of Aveyron during the French revolution was cited. He was thought to be defective but his intelligence was trained by Itard. Long-term interventions can produce long-term gains. Different interventions at different times and in different styles are required. If we assume people can change, we have a problem to study and a population to work with. So much success in helping people to change is being able to establish an authentic relationship. Change and learning can occur at any age. We do not know the potential of disadvantaged youth. Professional attitudes have to change also.

Who fails when the disadvantaged child leaves school early or does not achieve? The economy is losing 40,000 jobs per week due to technological advances. The problem confronting unskilled laborers is becoming greater, and it is out of their hands. Insoluble problems make them engage in aggressive behavior or become apathetic. Persons are degraded and debased in school systems and such other institutionalized set-ups as welfare and employment offices. The reward and punishment system is middle class. Examinations should be for the purpose of indicating to the teacher how well he is teaching. Under this orientation in one school, a student reported to his teacher, "Sorry, but you flunked."

What are the alternate paths for non-academically minded young people? The poor used to have a marketable commodity, i.e., unskilled labor. Now we need to make it possible for the poor to get into the "system" of the educated and skilled. If we offer opportunity, dignity and ability to make their own decisions, their behavior will be different from our pre-judgments. Their identity as human beings is constantly denied.

How can we introduce the poor into the educational system successfully? A proposed model for education is to systematically introduce the poor into the system by developing a series of intermediary roles in addition to the teacher; this means we must define a new series of roles for teachers and others. Use local students who are indigenous leaders for non-teaching classroom duties in order to liberate the teacher to teach. Then start training the helping student. Change his understanding of higher education and build in credits for in-service assisting. We need structural changes for a rational society without sacrificing standards to give the poor full access to societal rights. We must give coping skills to those who need them. The use of para-professional trainees is important for the schools as well as the individual.

What criteria for selection of helping students should be used? In the experimental programs attempted by Arthur Pearl no selection process was used because of imperfect instruments and experimenters pre-judgment and bias. Rather the attempt was to test all assumptions. This program needs further funding to enable analysis of evaluation, data and emotional investment in soul searching as well as data searching.

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*The manuscript of "The Life Space of the Disadvantaged Person," by Arthur Pearl, was not available at the time of the printing of this report.

THE YOUTH CULTURE, THE SCHOOL SYSTEM AND THE SOCIALIZATION COMMUNITY

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The paper is divided into two sections. The first is a diagnostic section, attempting to provide a brief diagnostic summary of community functioning and school system functioning as youth development agencies and environments. The second section is action oriented, giving a summary of several courses of youth development action, with brief illustrations.

I. Diagnostic Observations

My conclusions and illustrations draw heavily from our community programs of youth development action-research in Chicago and Flint, from our research relations with about a dozen elementary and secondary school buildings, and also from some of the diagnostic and action research of other investigators such as Reiss, Miller, Gross, Ohlin, Cohen and others.

First, viewing the community as a socialization community, one can describe and assess a community in terms of various dimensions. One can think of it in terms of its political functioning, or its economic stability, or its physical plan and structure. I want to think of it in terms of its socialization design, its program for rearing, educating, assimilating the young. It is this area of activity which I refer to in using the term, "socialization community."

A. The Socialization Community: Diagnostic Observations

In a study of a city of 200,000 we found that we could differentiate seven different community socialization functions carried on by professional socialization agencies and agents: (1) the formal education function; (2) the religious development function; (3) the leisure time and recreation function; (4) therapeutic and re-education services; (5) economic role socialization; (6) political re-education services; and (7) social control or legal code socialization.

Starting with half a dozen central community leaders, we found that they could nominate a number of persons in each of these areas (except one that I'll mention). By going to each of the nominees and asking them to nominate the most influential leaders in their area of socialization activity, we were able to identify about 70 key figures, who, by a rank ordering procedure among informants, were the influential leaders in six of these areas of child and youth development. The one area which proved a vacuum was that of integrating the young into the political system of the community. There was also considerable disagreement on who were the key leaders in economic system socialization because those training for occupational roles, and those hiring youth, and those placing them did not perceive and nominate each other with any consistency.

We interviewed these panels of nominated leaders of the socialization community to get their conceptions of the socialization job; their conceptions of deviancy, and of its causes; their amount of communication, and coordination of effort between themselves. I want to select out a few findings from these two or three hour interviews.

First, there was quite a bit more communication between, and perception of common goals by the leaders within the same socialization function as compared to across functions.

There was quite a bit of disagreement as to what was the most serious type of deviant development of the young ones in the community. The interview asked them to regard the community as a producer of young people. What were good products, and what were poor productions coming off the assembly line of the community? The educators, the religious and leisure-time leaders stressed deviancy of social relations and lack of respect for adults. The economic integration leaders stressed laziness, lack of work incentive, disrespect for property. Therapeutic workers and legal control officials stressed a lack of values and immaturity about impulse control.

When the socialization leaders were probed as to the causes of undesirable as well as desirable behavior, half the educators gave the family top credit for good outcomes; a third gave the school top influence; others mentioned the church and community.

When queried about the causes of bad behavior, three quarters of the educators blamed the parents, and the next most frequent mention was the larger society, outside of the community. There was no mention of school, church, or community as responsible for any bad effects.

This same pattern for other leadership segments was true, although no other segments viewed the school as such as potent cause of good behavior. Other segments gave the community more credit for positive influence than did the educators.

The economic leaders placed even more blame on the family. Ninety-two per cent of economic leaders gave the family as the major cause of deviant behavior.

The religious and leisure-time workers were the only ones to see peers, other young ones, as a significant cause of deviancy.

The economic socialization agents were in major disagreement with the other segments in believing that the problems of deviant behavior could be solved by more discipline.

The religious and economic leaders felt the major corrective action to be taken by the family.

The therapeutic agents saw individual counseling and guidance functions as the most needed.

The educators express a broader perspective of need for individual counseling, involvement in new group activities, and action on changing the attitudes and organization of the community to deal more effectively with the young.

On the question of who should take responsibility for rehabilitative effort, a majority of the educational leaders, 63 per cent say that they and others in the community have equal responsibility.

Three quarters of the economic and religious leaders say it's primarily a job for someone else, mostly parents.

Therapeutic and corrective agencies see a major role for themselves, and do not see the school as highly relevant for rehabilitative work.

In a reciprocal way the school leaders do not see the law enforcement and therapeutic agencies as significantly important influences for change in youth development.

Without pursuing the data further at this point, let me summarize what seem to me to be several of the highlights about the functioning of the professional socialization community:

First there is a widespread agreement in the major attribution of blame to parents as a causal factor. But there is little mention of goals or significant programs for the involvement of parents or collaboration with parents in the strengthening of family leadership. There are significant differences in ideas about what ought to be done and by whom, and a significant lack of coordination dialogue between the leaders across segments (in terms of reported frequency of conversation and about what).

Now I would like to go to a second level of functioning of the socialization community. We've been talking about the top influentials. They are the policy and program leaders. The real day-to-day interaction process of socializing the young is of course being carried on by a large network of direct workers: teachers, counselors, big brothers, club leaders, scoutmasters, recreational leaders and so on. What kind of team work is there here?

The answer is that there is far less communication than among the program leaders. We secured nominations of some 200 direct workers who were viewed by program leaders as the most creative and visible group and individual workers with the young in all segments of the community. When a sample of them were invited to meet, we found them quite ignorant of each other's practices of each other's clients. There was no process of exchange of information across programs.

In a more intensive study of some 10 elementary and secondary buildings, we have also found that colleagues in the same building do not share their classroom practice inventions from classroom to classroom.

So again we can summarize our diagnosis that at the level of direct work with the young, there is a lack of communication or coordination among the socialization agents, and again a general exclusion of parents and lack of connection with family life. Those who are seen to be most infuential, and also the most amateur, are the most neglected and isolated members of the child and youth development team.

Before leaving this diagnosis of the socialization community, let me point to another problem which I think is just as serious as that of communication and coordination. This is the problem about personnel recruitment and training.

As the National Commission on National Health has pointed out, the most serious need we have for social and educational service in every community is the need for the effective recruiting and training of volunteer and sub-professional manpower. To be effective this must be a cooperative task for the various socialization agencies, and a continuous and high priority must be given to high quality programs of in-service training. These can only be sustained by cooperative inter-agency training programs.

I have recently had a number of conversations with school board members who are from industry about these data. They usually express surprise and dismay at the typical lack of well-developed in-service systems, and in other child and youth development agencies of the community. As one of them put it recently, "how is it that we can keep our agricultural practitioners, the farmers, linked so closely to new research and practice, but have so little going on to link educational practitioners with new research, and new developments in raising children? We seem to value our efficiency in raising hogs, and creating new machines more than our efficiency in raising kids." We'll return to this problem later when we look at some of the concrete potentialities for improvement of youth development practice.

It is time now to turn from the community perspective to a consideration of our clients, the children and youth that we are trying to help grow up and who seem so often to deviate from our plans for their education and their maturation.

B. The Youth Culture: Diagnostic Observations

Now viewing the young ones as a peer society with a variety of subcultures and collective standards, there is a temptation and a tendency for teachers and other youth workers to view the classroom group or the club situation as one where they as adult leaders have the major influence over the learning or behavior of each child in the group. They see the situation as one of a relationship between themselves and each of the learners, pupils, student, group members.

But research analyses reveal that they are dealing with a complex social structure of peers where motivation to learn and patterns of relationship towards adults, are highly determined by the group standards, and the inter-personal evaluations among the child members.

Sociometric studies in junior high and senior high groups have shown that the anti-school and the pro-school students tend to form separate societies with a good deal of mutual antagonism and avoidance. Race and social class also influence the formation of sub-structures in the schools.

A number of studies show that the student's position in the peer group remains quite stable from fall to spring, and from year to year; the correlations for example from October till June in status position within the classroom range from 70 to 95.

What difference does all this make in regards to educational objectives? Some of the major findings from both elementary and secondary classroom studies indicate that classmates who are disliked compared to classmates who are liked, when matched for IQ, are found to under-utilize their intellectual capacity. Being disliked is especially dysfunctional for girls.

Classmates who are evaluated as low in influence status are also under-utilizers and being low in influence status is especially dysfunctional for boys. The rejected low status peers evaluate themselves and their school work and the teacher more negatively than their higher status peers of equal-intellectual ability.

In the same school and classroom climates, there is often one path to status open to the low status child. He can demonstrate boldness in resisting and testing adult authority. If there is a general feeling in the group that the adult leadership is noxious in some way, then peer status can be achieved in this way.

Let's turn now to a different aspect of the classroom or group situation, the cross-generational relations between the adults and the young ones. In one study of all elementary classrooms in one school, we took a series of quantitative classroom observations of teacher-pupil interaction. This was in a highly rated school with well-trained professional staff. One of the major findings was that the children who were low status with their peers were also most frequently criticized and least frequently rewarded by teacher. Particularly rejected were the acting-out low achievement boys. The teachers were now aware of this pattern.

In short, the teachers were in unconscious collusion with the peers in providing a failure and exclusion experience for this particular sub-population of classroom members.

Wormell's study of under-achievement in junior high school indicates that communication and support from parents is much less active and positive for under-achievers as compared to high-achievers with the same intellectual ability.

Schmuck and Van Egmond have confirmed this finding in larger studies of populations of elementary and secondary classrooms.

The negative student's attitudes of rejection and avoidance of the adults and adult helping efforts, are supported usually by a small reference group of like-minded peers within the classroom group. The teacher's self defeating efforts to exert more control on these pupils are also supported, both by her own impulses and her perceptions of the expectations of prestigeful colleagues in the building.

Now I would like to view the school system learning situation in a third way as a cross-age peer culture of relationships between children of different ages.

Most children have grown up in a cross-age peer culture of brothers and sisters, and of neighborhood associates. From the older ones, they have been able to learn by observation many of the tricks of the trade of how to behave toward and cope with grown ups. They have also experienced the patterns of teasing, exploitation, and ignoring behavior from the older ones. Their desires to look up to and emulate are mixed with needs to defend themselves and even to retaliate when it is safe. The significant influence of olders as anti-social models is well known in the work on delinquency. The use of olders as educational helpers and socializers was a customary pattern in the rural school. Very little systematic research on the role of cross-age relationship in the school system has been undertaken. We are just beginning some experimentation which I'll refer to in a moment. But let me express a belief at this point that cross-age peer relation are one of the very potent forces in the school system at all age levels--forces either toward rejection of learning or toward the acceptance of learning.

One very important restraint on active cooperation with the teacher in learning activities by the young has been revealed in a study of pupil perception of the values and expectations of their classmates. Frequently a majority of the students in a classroom perceive that a majority of the others are against too much commitment to school work; too much recitation, too much cooperation with the teacher. While actually on private questionnaires a majority in the class say that personally they would like to be more active in learning and have more relationship with the teacher.

This inhibiting state of pluralistic ignorance as it is called by the sociologist, continues as long as there is no occasion to share and discuss their personal values. An even more disturbing restraint to creative cross-generational relations in the classroom, has been revealed in some interviews with teachers who have entered new teaching assignments with enthusiastic plans for sharing the planning and execution of the educational adventure with their students, but very soon feel the disapproval of their older higher status colleagues that such nonsense may give the students wrong ideas.

Students confirm that very often a new teacher is swell for a couple of years until she gets "spoiled." "Fear of what my colleagues would think" frequently comes up as a strong restraining force and it seems to inhibit more active efforts at educational collaboration with the young ones.

To summarize then these brief observations, I believe it possible to say the negative alienative relations between many students and teachers develop and continue because both students and teachers from their past experience are mutually oriented toward a distrust relationship which they test and confirm in their early contact with each other.

Second, there is often a history of failure at academic tasks which has prejudiced many of the young ones against committing effort and motivation toward another probable failure experience. So that the well-motivated and often well-designed help efforts of good teachers are rejected, as a defense against another failure experience. Third, and finally I would like to view the school system as a system of organized team work among professional educators.

C. The School System: Diagnostic Observations

I shan't try to summarize the diagnostic research on the school system as an organization. Albert Reiss, Neal Gross, and other students or school organization are better equipped than I. But I would like to offer three interpretations from our research activities.

First, as I see it, the pupils or students in most school systems are in a relationship to the school system which is quite parallel to that of first line employees in many business and government organizations. The participation and involvement in planning and decision making stops at the level just above them.

The situation is changing rapidly in business organizations as the result of the research and analyses of Argyris, MacGregor, Hare, Likert, Kahn, Mann and others. Many managers now see the most productive pattern of relationships as one of "participative management" where overlapping committees or task groups or working groups link all levels of the organization in diagnosis of problems, in the projecting of plans, and in commitments to action.

Students in school do not have this type of involvement in and commitment to the goals, to the designing, and the execution, of their learning experiences.

Second, there is a remarkable collusion of non-communication among teaching colleagues about their classroom practices, about their educational goals of philosophy, and about their efforts to help particular students.

Third, teachers tend to perceive their administrators as negatively evaluating various kinds of educational innovations which would experiment with curriculum organization, with teaching practices, and with more active involvement of students in evaluating and influencing the functioning of the educational system.

D. Summary of Diagnostic Observations

For summary then of these diagnostic orientations, let me try to reorganize the observations to formulate a summary that will link more directly with some examples of directions of effort.

First, at the level of community system or socialization community, there seems to be a lack of communication and coordination of youth development program planning leaders, and also direct workers, and a lack of joint effort in the location, recruiting and training of the needed manpower. There are a variety of significant unresolved differences here between leadership segments as to what ought to be done and by whom.

Second, at the community level, there is much attribution of parents as a major cause of misbehavior, but relatively little in the way of significant effort at the involvement and in-service training of parents.

At the level of school system, in summary, there is a lack of involvement of the young learners in the goals and functions of the school system. There are conflicts between the efficiency values of the educational administrators (our experiences were primarily with principals and single buildings), our knowledge of educational effectiveness particularly for the effective education of deviant and alienated learners.

Third, there is a lack of shared commitment and communication between colleagues in the development and improvement of educational practice.

Finally, pupils are permitted to have sequences of educational experience in the school that produce and nurture increasingly serious alienation from teacher, from school, and from learning tasks, and may become a separated sub-population within the peer culture.

At the youth cultural level, in summary, there is typically a peer inter-personal evaluation process that frequently creates an unhealthy mental health situation, and low learning motivation situation for a significant number of students. I'm referring to middle-class classrooms in suburbs as well as lower-class classrooms in central city. Sometimes segregated sub-cultures develop along lines of social class or race. In other cases the separation is between a pro-social, pro-learning population and those with an anti-social behavior orientation. There are other various dimensions on which peer group evaluations divide the child and youth culture.

Second, the inter-personal status process in the peer group provokes and encourages some students to find needed attention and recognition through anti-teacher and anti-learning leadership efforts.

Finally, a potent cross-age peer influence process exists which is neglected as a major educational force.

II. Illustrative Designs for Action

Now to look at some brief illustrations of action designs related to some of these diagnostic points. Our team of social scientists have used data from the type of studies I've summarized here as a stimulus to derive action designs in collaboration with educators and other youth workers, to attempt to formulate some of the alternative approaches that might best cope with the particular problem.

This social engineering task should utilize our scientific knowledge to formulate some effective revisions of educational practice. Let me give you some snap shots of what has emerged. I want to make one footnote, however, and that is that one of the healthy experiences for all of our young social scientist-engineers has been to find in almost every school building, teachers who have developed creative practices which were in line with some of these derivations, but in which these teachers were unaware of the significance of their inventions, were not able to articulate them, and certainly were not able or motivated to communicate them to others.

As a result we have a great wealth of innovative practices which are being lost by lack of description, documentation, evaluation, articulate conceptualization and diffusion to peers. But many new images of practice also emerge as the scientists and practitioners use the very exciting opportunity to collaborate.

A. Working with the Socialization Community

First at the level of the socialization community. One activity was an invitation seminar for selected program leaders from all of the six socialization segments which I have mentioned earlier. Thirty were selected as the key figures in the six segments. Twenty-seven responded positively by coming and staying with it.

The seminar started with a feedback phase of looking at the research data, then moved into discussion and planning. When I say feedback of research, perhaps the image that comes to mind is one of presentation of charts and graphs. But we found this was not an effective starting point. Most of the data in early feedback sessions were presented by a series of dramatic episodes of interaction which were selected to represent the data. The community leaders were able to look at these events, think about them in terms of the relevance to what they have experienced. The researcher can say to what degree this kind of behavioral episode is typical of the relationship, for example, between delinquent boys and their fathers.

They then moved from this review of knowledge to the activity of defining issues through active discussion between the judge, the school administrator, Council of Social Agencies Administrator and so forth. This became a very significant process as they began to listen to each other. Then the third phase was one of developing into problem-work groups, setting up task forces which moved ahead with consultation from one of the university teams. The four work groups which developed out of the seminar were (1) one on designs for rehabilitation of deliquents, (2) one around delinquency prevention, (3) a third on values education, and (4) one around coordination of services in relations to family.

A second community level experiment was the nomination process, and then invitation of about 35 direct workers across the community agencies to become members of a community youth leaders' seminar. This again started with a feedback process, developed into a concern with criteria for good practice, and then developed into an exchange process for exchanging innovations. They are now in the process of developing an innovation booklet which they can use across all agencies (including the school) to describe their practices. The main consulting help was on how to articulate, how to describe, how to conceptualize meaningful practice.

A third activity has been the development at the state level of the Michigan Laboratory for Worker's with Youth. This involves about 20 of the youth serving agencies of the State, including the State Department of Instruction and the Michigan Education Association, with co-sponsorship by Michigan State University, Wayne University and the University of Michigan. There have been three laboratories in which the exciting thing to me has been that the educators have reported that one of the most significant learning experiences for them has been the dialogue with professional agency leaders outside the school system.

A fourth activity, in some ways the most difficult, has been the job of identifying who are the trainers of youth workers in the community. Who are the trainers of volunteers, sub-professionals, the in-service trainers of teachers, of boy scout leaders, of mental health workers, of parents, and so on. We are now looking at the possibility of future programs of in-service training which cut across all community socialization agencies.

B. Working with the School System

Moving down to the level of the school system let me mention several directions of effort that have derived from our diagnostic work. There was a very active response of teachers in several school systems when given opportunity to engage in diagnostic research about what was going on in their classrooms that effected motivation to learn, and mental health conditions for the learners.

There was a brief presentation of the opportunity to collaborate at faculty meetings, followed by a chance for any teacher to leave a slip indicating that they were interested in talking further about this opportunity after school some day. We had lots of volunteers and had a job of selecting from a much larger population of volunteers than we were able to cope with. This was at elementary, junior high and senior high levels.

The cooperating teachers began with data collection in their classrooms, including some instruments in which they were attempting to formulate their own approach to teaching, their own philosophy of education, as well as receiving data from the pupils. This was followed by a workshop period in which the teachers were helped to interpret their data and in collaboration with a consultant, to work on decisions and plans for producing changes in practice that seemed to be relevant as derivations from the data about their classrooms and themselves.

One interesting innovation developed when the teachers faced the fact of doing something significantly different in their own classrooms which they felt was dangerous. There were all kinds of images of awkwardness and difficulty.

So a squad of children was recruited to come in and help them to give them a chance to practice new approaches. This team of eleven and twelve year old pupils developed a great enthusiasm for this role as teacher trainers. When the teachers wanted to try out some kind of technique at a pre-"playing for keeps" level, and get feed-back, the pupils were available for tryout and evaluation.

Another significant fact that emerged was that the one or two teachers from a particular school building felt a strong need for support at the time they were beginning to try out a new approach, but they didn't feel they could find that support within their own building. So they developed a cross-building clinic in which they met every three weeks all winter. Some of them drove 60 to 70 miles but never missed this chance to share problems, to talk about failure freely, and to ask help from each other. This was one of the most significant eye openers for us as to the problems of shared in-service training experience within the building.

Another action design grew out of the interest in spreading significant new practices. The idea developed of forming "diffusion teams" to see to what extent new practices developed by these teachers could be spread to others. There were some 30 or 40 practices. The teachers helped develop a little brochure called, "Inventory of Teaching Innovations Directed Toward Improving Classroom Learning Atmospheres." Three-person "diffusion teams" of the principal, a collaborating teacher and an outside consultant were developed for each building to see what could be done to link these innovations from the year of experimentation to the interests of the other teachers in the buildings.

One of the interesting things that showed up was that the teachers by and large had the notion that to use somebody's practice was "limitation" and looked down on. For prospective we looked at what happens in the medical field or industry or agriculture in the search for innovation and the great value placed on adoption and creative adaptation. By and large this was a tremendous eye opening experience for the teachers who were seeing the notion of imitating somebody else in the building as low status.

Another activity design that has developed is the idea of cross-generational training. That is direct training of the adults and the young ones together. We have tried this three times with family units and are planning to try some teacher pupil unit. The interesting discovery with family units has been that there needs to be a phase when the mothers, the fathers, the teen-agers are meeting separately to talk about their problems of communication. Then there comes a phase when it is possible for them to look at family life episodes (produced by role-playing) while they are sitting and observing in family-like units, but where nobody is sitting with anybody from their own family. A mother, father, a daughter or a son will be sitting in a diagnostic family team, but nobody from the same family is in the trio. They observe typical family episodes that have come up as crucial in their previous discussion. After a number of sessions of this kind they can begin to sit in family units and have open communication in diagnosis of those family events that are like their own. Then they were ready to begin discussing their own relations in family sessions. We believe a significant approach to teacher-student relations will also be possible with this type of design.

C. Working with the Youth Culture

Let me move to just two or three examples of experimentation at the peer system level. A first design focuses on the involvement of the student group in the goals and evaluation of learning activity.

In a fifth grade, bi-racial and mixed social class, the teacher's diagnosis described that three of the five top status members of the class group were among the most anti-learning, anti-teacher members of the classroom peer structure.

The teacher started with the appointment, from her socio-metric data, of a classroom steering committee which included two anti-social leaders and two pro-social leaders. She convened them for a bag lunch which she provided the first time. She presented the notion that--wouldn't it be worthwhile to find out what the whole classroom thought were signs that they were having a good day in the classroom, and a bad day. She worked with them on leading this discussion.

They presented to the class the question, if a visitor were coming into their class from Russia, and didn't know anything about American classrooms, what would be signs that we were not having a very good day of learning things and feeling happy in our classroom, and what would be signs that we were having a good day. They made two lists on the board and each day of the week one of the Steering Committee was an evaluation research person, who kept a check list of events and at the end of the day he had the last half hour to review what he thought had been the signs of a good day and a bad day. He voiced whatever recommendations had come up in his mind about what they might try tomorrow to improve their day.

At the end of the week, the Steering Committee had the last hour to discuss the whole week, and to lead discussion on reactions to their observations and recommendations. At the end of two weeks, they appointed the next steering committee, which appointed the next one, etc.

One of the interesting evidences of movement in the social structure was that in the fifth week the boy who had been second in power, and the most anti-social, came to the teacher, and said he felt that the kids weren't listening to him so much and paying attention to him, what should he do? He had gone down in fact to 12th position in socio-metric structure and was interested finally in getting help. This began the process of significant teacher relationship to several of these pupils.

Another rather interesting process began when some of the teachers developed courage to get data from the pupils about how they felt about various aspects of their teaching. The process which turned out to be the most effective was one where on a number of scales the children rated where they saw the teacher and drew lines to where they wished she were. At the same time the teacher rates the classroom where she sees it on a series of dimensions, and where she wishes it were. They put these up on the board as data to look at in terms of reciprocal analysis of their wishes for each other.

Another very exciting adventure has been one in which, at a community wide level nominations were secured of teen-age leaders; negro, white, lower class, middle class, anti-social, pro-social. They were invited to become a community teen leadership seminar. They began again by looking at data from the studies of the causes of problems between adults and young people in the community. They went from that to facing the question of what kinds of unhealthy divisions they had within the peer society. The tapes of these meetings report for example a discussion of a middle-class boy talking about the feelings he has when walking down the high school corridor with a negro friend, and seeing one of his buddies coming and wondering how he will react, and wishing he didn't feel that way, but he does. Discussions of this sort led them to have a week-end retreat on relations among teenagers, out of which came two committees. A committee to train parents and teachers, and a committee to write a pamphlet on teenage feelings about relations with adults.

They have had a series of sessions on an invitation basis with parents and teachers. The response of the adults to this invitation is very encouraging.

Just one example from the area of cross-age peer relations. In a lower-class, bi-racial school, and also in a middle-class laboratory school we decided to test the notion that perhaps some of the most helpful influences on motivation to learn and actually on skill learning in the first, second and third grades might come from assistance by sixth graders. We had some research on how these ages perceived each other. We recognized that there were some problems, for example, of punitive and teasing orientations of olders towards youngers. Before any of the eager volunteers from the sixth grade, who had a chance to volunteer to be assistants in the first, second, and third grades, were permitted to begin their work, a seminar began on "olders helping youngers." It was a twice a week event a lunch time, or just after lunch, for half an hour. It continued during all the time of their field work. So that they would bring in from their field work with the first grader they were assigned to and working with issues they were having in helping on reading, arithmetic, etc. They did a great deal of role-playing of their problems of tutoring.

Let me give you a brief example of cross-age help. This is a kindergarten example where one of the acting out aggressive boys was having a temper tantrum and knocked down some material other children were working with. He was sent over to the corner and the teacher went over and asked if there was anything she could do to help him think about this. He said, "please send for Jim." Jim was the most acting out sixth grade boy in the team of sixth grade helpers. Jim came down from his room for a few minutes. The situation was explained to him. He went over and talked to the boy for a few minutes. The boy got up and rejoined his classmates. He had been told that when he felt he could join the group again, it was OK. He went back and began playing quietly. As Jim was leaving the teacher asked how he had helped. He said, "Well, I just told him that this is the way I used to behave all of the time and I still do too much, and you sure miss out on a lot of fun that way, and the other kids won't like you."

Of course the teacher could have said the same things, but it couldn't have the same kind of effect.

The exuberance of developing this kind of helping skill and sensitivity on the part of these youngsters is coupled with reports from the sixth grade teacher that the helpers showed quite an upward spurt in their own academic motivation as a result of this kind of responsibility as helpers and models.

There are many creative practitioners, of course, who have come up with inventions similar to and superior to these. The major point I think is that it is possible to produce, in collaboration with practitioners, scientific data that will provide an efficient base for innovations and evaluation of them. And if the collaboration can include an emphasis on documentation then the important linkage of diffusion to others can occur.

D. Summary of Observations about Research Utilization

In concusion, it seems to me that much of the waste could be out of educational experimentation, out of new product development as the industrialists think of it, if diagnostic research or action research were recognized as a most efficient way to arrive at validated educational innovations and the diffusion of them.

Second, the diffusion of new creative practices is a much more serious problem than that of invention. This is an area of greatest waste at the moment in such fields as deliquency prevention, work with the dropout, the retarded, etc.

The research knowledge and the conceptual perspective needed to design sound programs will usually not be found in the staff of operating agencies. Locating outsiders often University based collaborators, is one of the best bets for efficient and active product development. The same holds true, I think, for locating the best manpower resources for in-service training of the staff. In several fields the techniques of in-service training have developed far beyond current training practice in education, both in-service and pre-service training. We need to utilize these resources just as we used to utilize scientific resources.

Finally by taking initiative and stimulating the cooperation with other agencies, and in demonstrating innovative programs, I thing the school has the most central opportunity to exert key leadership in the socialization community.

REPORT OF PLENARY DISCUSSION OF RONALD LIPPITT'S PAPER

Are schools prepared to take the role of socialization agencies in the urban community? There are currently no schools where there is a program to train trainers or volunteers and sub-professionals. There is need for sensitivity training for social and emotional development. The traditional pedagogical "telling" orientation limits the teacher's ability to receive and listen. In one study 70 per cent of teacher's acts were control rather than liberating acts. Teachers need to learn how to build the class program on a collaborative cooperative basis with the pupils, in a sequence appropriate to each class.

What evaluation has been done of the innovations in education implemented by the Inter-Center Program for Study of Children, Youth and Family Life through the Institute of Social Research at the University of Michigan? Work has been limited to elementary grades. Ratings by teachers in two buildings indicated increased motivation and achievement, especially in reading in first and sixth grades. Teachers claimed this was their first opportunity to teach rather than be preoccupied with social control problems. This claim needs to be put to empirical test. Hard data also are needed on the effect of status in the group on motivation and achievement.

What is the relationship of such innovational experiments to teacher training? Perhaps the greatest obstacle confronting innovators is the diffusion of effective technics. Teachers who actively collaborated in action research designs supported by consultation and assistance in interpretation of classroom data which they had collected were compared with teachers who did not actively participate in the development of innovations but were fed data and given suggestings on the basis of the innovators' experience. There was little spread of the innovation experiments among teachers who were merely passive recipients of data and information. More spread occurred when diffusion teams were developed and team members were in frequent face-to-face contact. Diffusion in educational technology requires value shifts and changes at many levels and in various areas: classroom, building and school system; skill changes, and changed human relationships at all levels; between and among teachers, pupils and supervisors. Many teachers were found to hold the sentiment that imitating someone else is "bad," unlike medicine where the "creativity of adoption creates new values."

A potential conflict which needs to be avoided or worked through is that of the technician versus the independent practitioner. Teachers will accept team decisions but also need opportunity for autonomy. There is friction where this is not adequately resolved.

Consultation as part of innovation provides input and support from outside the school system. There are at least four phases in diffusing innovations.

1. Feasibility--an experienced demonstration person who has successfully used the innovation in his own system presents it to the new system

2. In-service training on a regular and continuing basis, to help develop skills and provide support and encouragement

3. Training materials used without help, in order to provide minimal support and relationship yet still maintain quality control

4. Full integration of the practice in ways which conform to the uniqueness of each system and its educational content.

Have there been any peer group influence projects similar to Lewin's attempts to get housewives to utilize organ meats during World War II? Not precisely. However, after school programs were conducted during which proschool students listened to antischool youngsters. The total group sought consensus in recommending changes in the schools. "Group space" interviewing was done to discuss significant events, provide norm building, and establish positive and negative sanctions.

What sort of evaluation criteria were utilized to determine which innovations had wider applicability? A validation and evaluation committee developed rating criteria on seven dimensions and decided 33 of 300 innovations were worth diffusing.

SOME RESEARCH FINDINGS OF THE NATIONAL PRINCIPALSHIP STUDY AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL CHANGE*

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Many of the social science ideas and speculations that have been presented at this conference so far, as well as those in the literature on the "disadvantaged child," can be summarized in three general statements. The first is that in planning programs to increase the learning and level of aspiration for "underprivileged" children in the schools, it is of fundamental importance to design them in a manner that will lead teachers, administrators, and other school personnel to obtain a realistic understanding of how these children *perceive themselves*, their life chances, and significant others in their social relationships (e.g., their peers, teachers, and families).[1] The second is: in order to motivate these children and to maximize their intellectual and other capacities we must be aware of the manner in which circumstances and conditions *both in* and *outside* of the school influence the self images, attitudes, and values of students.[2] The third is that after we isolate these forces we then need to introduce into their social environment in and out of school conditions that are conducive to the kind of self images, attitudes, and values that lead to rewarding and "effective" school experiences.[3] I might add that it is my judgment that we also need to carry out a great deal more rigorous and systematic research before we can implement these general ideas.

There is another dimension to the problem of designing programs for "deprived children" that stems from a social science orientation to it: the importance of having a realistic understanding of the forces operating on the personnel in school systems that facilitate and block their interest, ability, or willingness to carry out or experiment with programs designed to maximize the latent potentialities of students. Many of these forces are external to the school system, for example, parents and local pressure groups, city councils, state legislatures, and higher institutions of learning.[4] The superintendents here, I believe, will affirm that the demands, protests, values, and beliefs of these external agents place constraints and barriers on a school system's ability to cope with its basic problems, including its desire or efforts to help the "culturally deprived" child.

But there are also internal forces in school systems operating on administrator and teachers that need a central place in our deliberations at this conference. I submit that in an examination of fundamental problems of the schools such as dealing with the "culturally deprived" child we too frequently fail to examine factors characteristic of the adults (and their relationships) who operate our schools that may constitute basic obstacles to introducing or implementing rationally designed programs to cope with them. I also submit that programs that are not based on a reality orientation to the perceptions and problems of teachers and their administrators will have little probability of achieving any important educational payoff.

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*A condensed version of a paper delivered before the Intercity Schools Project - Developmental Conference sponsored by the Human Relations Center of Boston University, July 15-19, 1964.

A significant, and too frequently overlooked, figure in the schools is the school principal, and it is this leadership position that I shall focus on in my remarks. I do so for two reasons: (1) I believe the principal occupies a key role in the organizational structure of public school systems and is in a strategic position to block or facilitate efforts to introduce change into them; (2) my associates and I have recently completed a study of a national sample of over 500 principals in 41 large American cities and I can present evidence, rather than simply speculate, about educators in this position.[5] A number of our findings are of direct relevance to any efforts to improve the service schools offer to their clients for they suggest areas of stress and strain among school personnel that may readily constitute basic, and frequently unrecognized, obstacles to introducing or implementing proposed changes in the programs of schools. First, I propose to present the research findings, and then I will consider their implications for the problems we are examining at this conference.

Barriers to the Principal's Professional Performance as Perceived by Principals

First, let us look at a set of findings about the major obstacles that our national sample of principals believe constitute barriers to their professional leadership. When our national sample of principals was asked, "What obstacles that confront you in your work do you consider most serious in preventing you from doing a better job as principal of your school?" the most frequently mentioned response was "the higher administration"--39 per cent gave this response. The major reasons the principals gave for citing their administrative superiors as hindrances to their tasks were: poor communication, bureaucratic inefficiency, failure to understand their problems, inadequate support of their efforts, and unwillingness of the higher administration to grant them enough autonomy to deal effectively with their problems.

The findings from another part of the study also support the proposition that many principals frequently perceive their immediate administrative superiors in a negative way:

(1) 40 per cent of the principals said that they felt that they were required to engage in unnecessary paperwork.
(2) 30 per cent indicated they felt their immediate boss procrastinates in his decision making.
(3) 28 per cent indicated that their administrative superiors reprimands principals whose ideas do not agree with their own.
(4) 35 per cent of the principals felt that no effort is made in their school system to reward principals who are doing an outstanding job.
(5) 25 per cent of the principals stated that their administrative superiors do not take any real interest in their professional development.
(6) 22 per cent said that higher administrators do not have constructive suggestions to offer principals in dealing with their major problems.
(7) 20 per cent said that their higher administrators make their life difficult because of their administrative ineptitude.
(8) 23 per cent said that their bosses rub people the wrong way.

These findings strongly imply that interpersonal stress and strain do exist in many principal-higher administrator relationships and may constitute blocks to efforts of the higher administrator to introduce new programs into schools.

In responding to the question about major obstacles the principal faces in his work, 30 per cent of the principals viewed their teachers in this light. The administrators most frequently mentioned as reasons for this negative evaluation of teachers their lack of motivation, their resistance to change, their uncooperative attitudes, and their poor preparation for the classroom tasks. The other major obstacles the principals mentioned and the percentage who gave them are:

(a) Inadequate resources (32%) - lack of clerical assistance, specialists, physical facilities, teaching materials, and overcrowding
(b) Public policy (23%) - unwillingness of community or school board to provide adequate resources for the schools
(c) Lack of time to devote to improvement of educational program (23%)
(d) Uncooperative parents (22%)
(e) Students with negative attitudes toward school (11%)
(f) Lack of authority (10%) - in selection of teachers, allocating the budget, and defining the program
(g) The principal's own personal inadequacies (9%).

These findings are of considerable interest in many respects. They indicate that principals tend to see the source of their obstacles much more in their relationship with the higher administration and teachers than they do in their relationships with parents and students. I would also stress the not unanticipated finding that relatively few principals tend to view their own behavior or characteristics as blocks to their more effective performance.

The Teachers View of Their Principals

Now let's turn to the manner in which teachers view their principals. In describing their principals' behavior,

(1) Over one fourth of the teachers indicated their principals do not usually offer them constructive suggestions in dealing with their problems.
(2) Four out of ten teachers indicated that faculty meetings at which their principal presided were typically a waste of time.
(3) Over one fourth of the teachers said that their principals did not take a real interest in their professional development.
(4) One fourth of the teachers said their principals did not help them to understand sources of important problems they are facing.
(5) Three out of ten said their principals did not maximize the different skills in the faculty.

These findings suggest that adult relationships could stand considerable improvement in many schools in the large cities of America. What circumstances and conditions might account for the difficulties, dissatisfactions, and frictions that appear to characterize the interpersonal adult relationships in a substantial percentage of city schools.

Some Potential Sources of Interpersonal Stress in Schools

I submit that the following five sociological and social psychological factors constitute fundamental and frequently unrecognized interpersonal sources of strain in the schools:

(1) Administrators and teachers frequently do not share the same evaluations of each other.

(2) Lack of agreement on school objectives
(3) Lack of agreement on role definition
(4) The inherent conflict in schools between the authority structure and the professional nature of the tasks of teachers
(5) The different frames of reference administrators and teachers bring to their jobs.

(1) Principals and Teachers Assess the Performance of Principals

We examined in considerable detail the way principals assessed their own behavior and the way their teachers and higher administrators evaluated it. We asked the principals to evaluate themselves in 23 areas of the job (from outstanding to very poor), for example, (1) in giving leadership to the instructional program; (2) in obtaining parental cooperation with the school; (3) in dealing with student discipline; (4) in running meetings and conferences; (5) in maximizing different skills of the faculty; and (6) in developing *esprit de corps* among teachers. Then we asked their teachers to evaluate them in these same areas. The overall conclusion that emerged from our findings was that there was little or no relationship between the way principals and their teachers assess administrative performance. When we compared the self-ratings of principals with those of their immediate higher administrators, we came to the same conclusion: there was little or no relationship between the two sets of evaluations.

In a further exploration of this matter we asked the principals to specify the two areas of their work in which they felt they were the strongest and weakest and then we asked their teachers the same questions about their principals.

In what areas of the principal's job do teachers and their administrative superiors have the highest assessment of the performance of principals? Below are the findings reporting the four dimensions of the principals' work that were most frequently perceived by principals and their teachers as the "strong points" of principals.

Table 1. Major Strengths of Principals as Perceived by:

Principals	Per Cent	Teachers	Per Cent
1. Developing staff *esprit de corps*..........	31	1. General planning for the school............	35
2. Obtaining cooperation of parents with the school..	20	2. Keeping school office running smoothly......	32
3. General planning for the school...............	19	3. Dealing with parent complaints............	16
4. Coping with student discipline..............	16	4. Working with community agencies..............	14

The data reveal only one area of overlap in their responses (general planning for the school). And it also deserves special note that neither the principals nor their teachers rated dealing with instructional activities as one of the major strengths of principals.

In which areas did the two groups evaluate the behavior of principals as weakest? The findings were:

Table 2. Major Weaknesses of Principals as Perceived by:

Principals	Per Cent	Teachers	Per Cent
1. Publicizing the work of the school............	35	1. Working with inexperienced teachers....	20
2. Getting experienced teachers to upgrade their performance........	32	2. Developing staff esprit de corps.......	18
3. Getting teachers to use new educational methods.................	15	3. Coping with student discipline problems...	16
4. Working with community agencies.................	14	4. Getting experienced teachers to upgrade their performance.....	14
5. Working with inexperienced teachers.......	13	5. Knowing about strengths and weaknesses of teachers..............	14

Although both groups agree that principals do relatively poor jobs in working with experienced and inexperienced teachers (and this finding deserves emphasis), two areas in which teachers see their principals as especially weak in their role performance are the same areas in which principals view themselves with considerable approbation: developing staff esprit de corps and coping with student discipline problems. And it is also of interest to observe that teachers, but not principals, view their administrative superiors as relatively weak in knowing about the strengths and weaknesses of their staff whereas principals, but not their teachers, have a low assessment of their handling of the school's external relations.

These findings could be explained by misperceptions on the part of either principals or teachers or the application of different evaluative standards to the performance of principals. Regardless of their cause, they indicate a basic interpersonal obstacle to the effective collaboration of the management and technical personnel in schools.

(2) Lack of Agreement on School Objectives

If people who must work together in organizations have the same or similar ideas about their basic objectives, then one crucial ingredient for relatively smooth interpersonal relationships can be presumed to be present. However, if people who must work together have basically different ideas about what the goals of the organization are, then the stage is being set for tension, confusion, frustration, and conflict. This is so because group members are viewing each other's behavior through different colored glasses--the same act can readily be interpreted differently by its members.

Our research suggests that lack of agreement on educational goals in schools may constitute a major potential source of strain and tension among its personnel (and also between them and their communities).

Consider first the differences in the goals of a business firm and a school. For the former the goal is relatively clear cut--to produce goods or a service for a profit. Labor unions in the United States may fight about the distribution of profit, but they usually do not fight about the goal itself.

But for a school system, what does it mean to say that the goal is to educate children. It means nothing until we specify for what purposes. And here is the rub. There is no simple, clear, or unambiguous answer to this question. This is a value question, one on which there is no right or single answer.

Our study of educational values indicates that in many schools and school systems there are basic differences on school objectives. Principals and their teachers as well as higher administrators and their subordinates frequently do not share common views on what the goals of the schools should be. And I might add that in Massachusetts school boards and their superintendents in a large number of communities do not share the same views on educational objectives.[6] Should the schools be responsible for the social and emotional development of the child as well as his intellectual development? Does the school have responsibility for his moral development? Does the school have an obligation to provide instruction about family living, driver education, or race relations? These are essentially value questions and people within and without the schools can and frequently do have disparate views about them. A great deal of the current controversy about the schools boils down to a conflict of values. And these differences in beliefs about the legitimate tasks of the school are too infrequently brought to the surface for frank and open discussion. And so they remain as barriers and blocks to effective group action. I strongly suspect that many interpersonal barriers to professional teamwork in educational organization can be traced back to largely unrecognized value conflicts over their organizational goals.

(3) Dissension on Role Definition

In addition to disagreements over values, our research findings indicate that there is frequently disagreement over the role definition for key educational jobs. Although textbooks in education glibly speak about the role of the teacher and school administrator as if everybody agreed on them, our findings reveal that people who work with each other in schools frequently have quite varying definitions of who is expected to do what and what the rights and obligations are of its key functionaries.

Should teachers be expected to attend PTA or Parent meetings? Does the teacher's job include the counseling function? What are the teacher's obligations to the very bright and very dull child? Or the disadvantaged child? What are the teacher's and principal's respective duties re discipline problems? How should a teacher group children in the classroom? What are the principal's responsibilities with respect to supervision and parent involvement in school affairs? Should an administrator always support the teacher in the face of parental or pupil complaints.

On these and many other phases of the role definition for teachers and principals we find disagreements between educational administrators and their staffs. And, in addition, the guidance counselor role is also one on which there appears to be dissensus on its rights and obligations.

(4) The Authority System and the Professional Nature of the Teaching Task

Another condition of the educational setting conducive to strained interpersonal relationships is what might be called the authority structure-professionalism dilemma. On the one hand a school system, like all organizations, must have an authority structure--someone has to enforce the rules, see that tasks are accomplished, and have the power to sanction teachers and students for misbehavior. The principal is the formal leader of the school and therefore has the responsibility to see that the education tasks, however defined, are accomplished and integrated. What goes on in the first grade in an elementary school must be tied in with what goes on in the second and third grades. But the authority structure comes in conflict with another characteristic of the school as an organization--it is staffed with individuals who conceive of themselves as professional personnel, persons who are supposed to have a great deal of autonomy in their work. They believe that they have the right to have considerable freedom in carrying out their classroom activities and their decision making. The built-in source of strain in short is the clash between the official authority structure of schools and the professional status of its workers, and many interpersonal and other organizational problems in schools can be traced back to this source.[7]

(5) The Frames of Reference of Administrators and Teachers

The localistic anchoring of public education results in many latent and overt community conflicts spilling over into the school area. Religious conflict, race conflict, ethnic conflict, conflict between the west side and east side of the community, and political and power struggles influence the deliberations of school boards and their superintendents. We know that the size of the school budget directly affects many aspects of school operation--the quality of teachers the schools can attract and hold, whether the school can develop new educational programs, and whether the school can engage in in-service training.

The net result of all this is that the school board and school superintendent usually bear in mind how different publics in the community will react to their decisions. Their tasks require them to take into account how a proposed program or new idea could affect next year's budget or the forthcoming school bond issue. They must consider how fast they can move without getting the taxpayer's association all steamed up and opposition that will likely develop to innovations from key individuals in the power structure or vocal pressure groups in the community. In consequence, the frame of reference of the school board, the superintendent, and the higher administration typically stresses school-community relationships. But the frame of reference of the principal typically is restrictd to his school, his neighborhood; whereas the frame of reference of the teacher typically includes his classroom and students. And these varying frames of reference can easily lead to different assumptions and biases in the examination of knotty educational problems. The varying frames of reference different levels of the educational hierarchy bring to their meetings are in part a function of the different positions they occupy in the school.

The Professional Leadership of School Principals

To this point I have presented a body of findings that strongly imply that many schools in our large cities are characterized by overt or latent strains and conflicts and have considered some of the possible circumstances that may account for them. Now I wish to consider with you another set of our research findings bearing directly on the behavior of principals that we characterize as indices of the educational leadership they offer to their teachers. We asked samples of teachers in each of the elementary schools in our study to tell us the extent to which their principals engage in the following behaviors:

(1) Has constructive suggestions to offer teachers in dealing with their major problems
(2) Displays a strong interest in improving the quality of the educational program
(3) Gives teachers the feeling that they can make significant contributions to improving the classroom performance of their students
(4) Helps teachers to understand the sources of important problems they are facing
(5) Makes teachers' meetings a valuable educational activity
(6) Considers "what is best for all the children" in his decisions affecting educational programs
(7) Brings to the attention of teachers educational literature that is of value to them in their jobs
(8) Maximizes the different skills found in his faculty
(9) Treats teachers as professional workers
(10) Gives teachers the feeling that their work is an "important" activity
(11) Takes a strong interest in my professional development
(12) Gets teachers to upgrade their performance standards in their classrooms.

An H-technique Guttman scale was then developed on the basis of the teachers' responses to these items and a summary measure of the Executive Professional Leadership (EPL) of each principal was then obtained. What impact, if any, does the EPL exhibited by principals have on the operation of their schools? What factors are related to EPL?

There are some educators such as Lieberman[8] who claim that a professional leadership conception of the principalship should be discarded, i.e., the principal should not be centrally involved in instructional leadership activities. Our findings imply that it should not for they revealed that the greater the EPL of principals, (a) the higher the morale of teachers; (b) the more professional their performance (e.g., the greater their efforts to do everything possible to motivate their students, the more they try new teaching methods); (c) the greater the academic effort of pupils as measured by indices such as the percent of children who are one year or more behind in reading, who are interested in academic achievement, and who work up to intellectual capacities; and (d) the greater the interest and cooperation of parents.

What factors are and are not related to Executive Professional Leadership? We found that many "common-sense" correlates of EPL were not related to it, for example, the teaching experience of the principal, the number of years in the principalship, whether he had served as an assistant or vice-principal, and the number of undergraduate and graduate courses in education taken. Our findings also revealed interestingly enough that the fewer the courses in educational administration the principal had taken and the younger his age the greater his EPL.

We also discovered that the more he displayed the following characteristics, or behaviors, the greater his EPL: skill in human relations and the ability to carry out purely administrative duties, social support given his teachers, involvement of his staff in his decision making, emphasis in his role definition on the importance of instructional activities, evaluation of self, academic ability, time devoted to the job, and service motive for seeking the principalship. In addition, we found that the following characteristics of their administrative superiors were positively related to EPL: their professional leadership, their rewarding of his serving as innovator, their encouragement of his involvement in professional activities, and their involvement of him in the selection of his staff.[9]

Some Implications of the Findings

1. Most of the ideas and proposals I have heard at this conference about strategies to cope with the problem of "culturally deprived" children are based on assumptions about what the role of the school and that of the principals and the teachers should be. But our findings suggest that there is currently lack of agreement on school objectives and the role definition of the teachers and principal in many schools in large American cities. They imply that efforts to introduce new school objectives and role definition for teachers and principals will confront normative climates which are already characterized by dissensus and therefore new programs that do not take this condition into account can easily further exacerbate these present overt or latent conflicts. Efforts to introduce innovations that are not based on well-planned strategies to change existing values and role definitions and that fail to recognize their importance as supports or obstacles to new ideas may be doomed to failure at the outset.

2. Those who carry out programs for the culturally deprived child can be expected to be confronted with many trying situations and difficult and complex problems, and in consequence the lines of communication between principal and teacher and principal and the higher administration need to be wide open if they are to be dealt with efficiently and effectively. But a number of our findings suggest that they are frequently blocked. This implies that there is a great need for improving the communications systems in school systems prior to the introduction and implementation of such programs.

3. Our findings that the professional leadership of the principal has consequences for morale and the performance of both teachers and pupils imply that efforts to maximize this source of leadership in designing and carrying out new programs are well worth the effort and steps need to be taken to exploit its potential value.

4. Our findings that the higher administration constitute the major block principals perceive they confront in their work and the relationships we uncovered between the behavior and attitudes of higher administrators and the professional leadership of principals suggest that higher administrators need to do a lot of stocktaking of themselves, as well as of their subordinates, prior to the introduction of new programs.

5. Our data suggest the importance of developing mechanisms that will serve to minimize misperceptions among the professional staff of schools and school systems and devices that will provide the personnel at all levels with a greater understanding of the problems and dilemmas confronting their subordinates and superordinates.

6. Our findings about the determinants of EPL also suggest many steps that principals can take themselves to increase the professional leadership they offer to their faculties. They also suggest characteristics that higher administrators may want to consider in selecting principals who will display a high order of educational leadership. It may be the case that a major circumstance in the success of some, and the failure of other, schools to turn "culturally deprived" children into "educationally advantaged" ones may be found in the varying ability of principals to exploit the "influence" potentialities of their role.

Footnotes

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REPORT OF PLENARY DISCUSSION OF NEAL GROSS'S PAPER

To what extent is there agreement on educational objectives? There is a lack of goal agreement throughout the educational realm; administrators, supervisors, principals, teachers, parents, and students. There is a need for exploration and frank discussion of goals and assumptions resulting in a consensus on goals and role definitions. Many complex problems impede this goal. Communication lines are blocked and there is need for more sophisticated human relations skills.

Does the study help determine change strategy? The principal is the key element in the educational structure. He is the primary sanction and reward dispenser. However in the principal's eyes higher administration represents the major block to change and progress. Hilda Taba's work with volunteer teachers required the sanction of principals and the findings went back to the teachers and principals. As a consequence there was difficulty meeting the demands of principals for participation.

What is the relationship between professional leadership and pupil outcomes? There were clear sex differences on numerous career pattern variables. Women were more satisfied with teaching which represented an early career choice for them. Teaching was frequently a second career choice for men although they selected the principal career earlier than women. Women had a lower aspiration level and took longer to become principals. As a consequence they were more experienced, worried less, had greater self-confidence, and control which in turn resulted in greater professional performance and pupil output. There was a career mobility factor among the men many of whom moved from junior and senior high school teaching to elementary school principalships although this pattern was not common among the "Great cities." Different selection procedures were used with seniority being the primary criterion among women, whereas competition was the prevalent pattern among the men. Experience appeared to be the intervening variable which made women a better bet as teachers of deprived children. There appeared to be no sex differences in parental involvement with schools.

TEACHING STRATEGIES

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Assumptions about Teaching

Teaching is a much more complex process than has been postulated either in the ways we train teachers, use them, or even study what teaching is all about. One or another of the simplified assumptions has prevailed about the nature and the function of teaching. Among the simplest and the most stubborn is the idea that the only function of teaching is to impart knowledge (e.g., Conant's report). Another widely accepted concept is that teaching consists of a series of specific methods connected with specific subjects, such as mathematics, history, etc. The basic structure of teacher training programs is based on this assumption. A third assumption is that good teachers are born, not made. By this definition teaching is a sort of mystique, an art the secrets of which a few "good" teachers grasp intuitively or stumble into accidentally but which can neither be analyzed nor produced consciously.

Teaching as a Complex Strategy

Actually, teaching is an extremely complex strategy. This is recognized only in the case of teaching the extremely difficult and deviate students (e.g., teaching "language" to the deaf). Recently this complexity has also been recognized in connection with efforts to program for auto-instruction (e.g., Stolurow) and in some recent studies of teaching (Hughes, 1959; Flanders, 1962, and Taba, Levine, and Elzey, 1964).

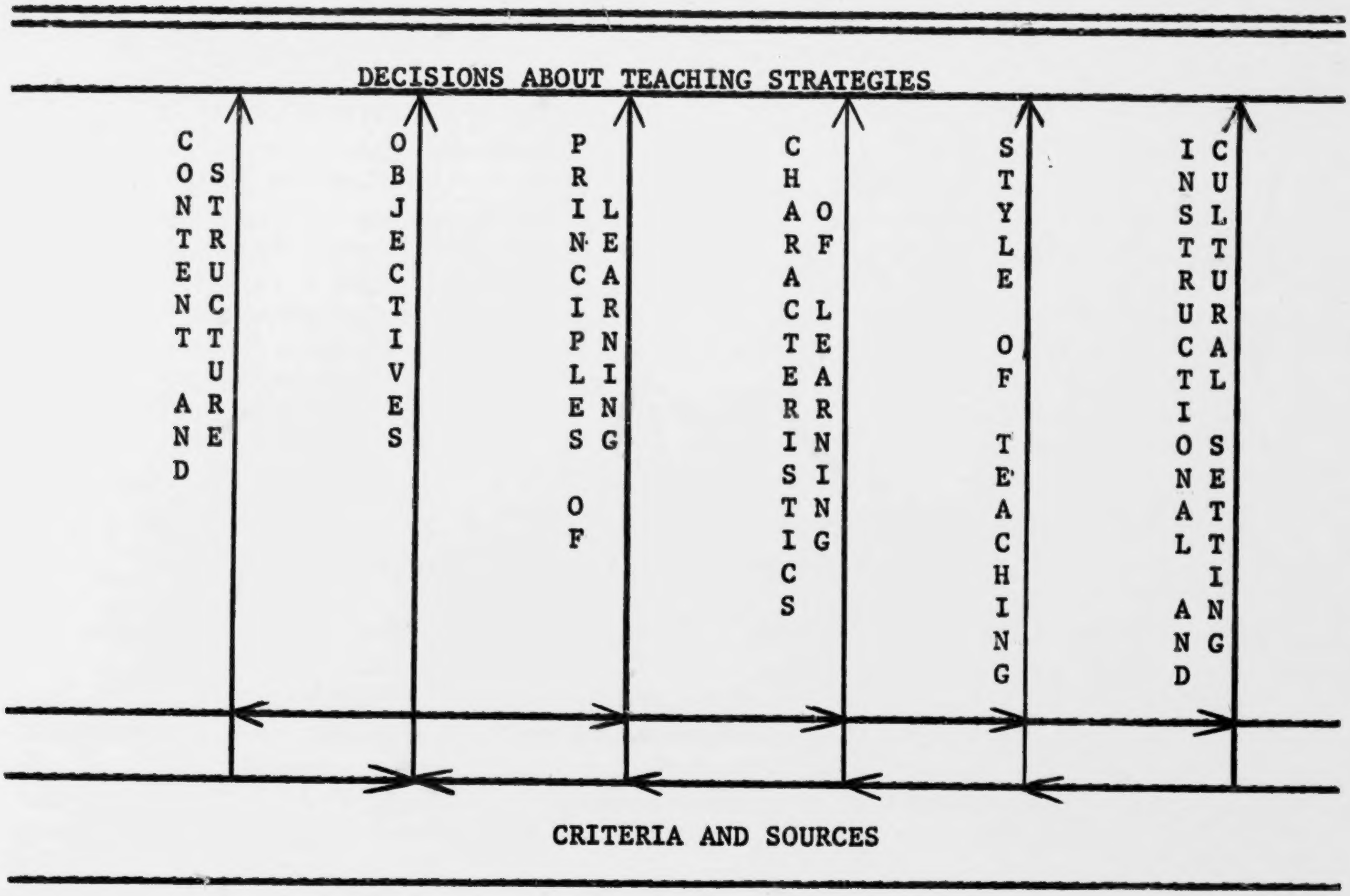
Because of this complexity decisions involved in teaching require application and integration of multiple criteria derived from multiple sources.

If teaching is defined as a process of teaching something to somebody, the concept of teaching must be extended beyond the usual didactic one. It involves a relationship at least between the teacher, the "something," and the "somebody." These three elements break down into further elements. For example, "something" can be conceived not only as certain content, its structure and requirements, but also as a way of attaining certain behavioral objectives, such as the ability to think productively, an attitude of inquiry or skills necessary for functioning in groups. The "somebody," in turn, is not a faceless collection of students but individuals who possess certain characteristics, which may dispose them to learning in different ways, or which require adaptations of teaching strategies. Further, since teaching is presumed to eventuate in learning the criteria for decisions about teaching must be derived from what is known about learning processes generally.

Also, whatever is known about the general effectiveness of teaching strategies is usually translated by individual teachers into what could be described as a personal style of teaching.

Finally, both teaching and learning occur in a cultural and institutional setting, in a school which is subject to social pressures and which has a definable climate. This climate imposes certain limitations and offers stimulation of a certain kind.

This complexity can be presented graphically as follows:


DECISIONS ABOUT TEACHING STRATEGIES
CONTENT AND STRUCTURE
OBJECTIVES
PRINCIPLES OF LEARNING
CHARACTERISTICS OF LEARNING
STYLE OF TEACHING
INSTRUCTIONAL AND CULTURAL SETTING
CRITERIA AND SOURCES

Naturally, the entire process and the elements within it are affected, and in effect, also addressed to the socio-cultural situation within which it is carried on.

In making decisions about what to do in the classroom the criteria derived from any one of the above sources must be brought to bear on the decisions. Each criterion modifies all the others, e.g., the requirements of the subject matter one teaches are modified by the requirements of the learning process. The principles of learning must be modified according to the nature of the learners.

What is the Socio-cultural Situation?

Perhaps a brief discussion of the major facts in the dimensions described above is in order. A fact familiar to all of us is the increasing heterogeneity of our school population. Less appreciated is the phenomenon which accompanies it: as the percentage of the age group attending school increases the extension of the school population inevitably comes from "the bottom of the pile," the disadvantaged. The public schools of the great cities accommodate a large proportion of this group. Probably one in every two students is disadvantaged in one sense or another. These urban centers draw people both from the rural areas of the United States and from other countries: Negroes and Puerto Ricans in the east, Spanish-Americans, Mexicans, and Indians in the southwest, and marginal farmers and hillbillies everywhere (Jenks, 1960).

Of still greater significance to education is the fact that many of these people are actually making a jump in one generation from the 18th to the 20th century. This transition involves a difficult adaptation, for it represents not only a shift from a simpler culture into a more complex one but also into a mechanized, anonymous, and alienated culture in the large urban areas. In this culture these migrants tend to be hemmed in in encapsulated environments which prevent the learning of the larger culture. Instead the city surrounds them with the hedonism of slum life and offers a dangerous freedom born of anonymity which permits license without teaching the limits and controls.

The Psychological Consequences

The relationship between cultural background and school learning is not simple and not too well understood. Research on social class pointed up that there are differences in values, behavior, patterns, and aspirations. The homes of these students have a limited educational tradition and, hence, also limited "know-how" about the school and its expectations and requirements.

The parents cannot help their children with academic content, skills in conduct, or in kindling aspiration for continued education. What ambitions they have they cannot communicate for lack of proper models or because they themselves are in the dark about the operational steps necessary to prepare the child to take advantage of the available learning opportunities. As Deutsch points out, for example, Negro boys tend to have no model of a successful male. Consequently, they also have no psychological framework which suggests that effort can result at least in the possibility of achievement (Deutsch, 1962, p. 4).

Many disadvantaged children also lack the skills and the habits necessary for meeting the expectations of conduct in school: they have less training in disciplined behavior in groups; they don't share the respect for such virtues cherished in school as cleanliness, punctuality, and orderliness. Among them the usual difficulties are magnified in mass proportions: lower IQ, poor performance, high proportion of failure, reading and learning disabilities, and innumerable life adjustment problems (Sexton, 1961--relationship of income and educational performance, distribution of Merit Scholars).

The Phenomenon of Hidden IQ

Children from such environments may be potentially able but tend to be developmentally retarded in actual functioning ability: in learning to read and mastering the content of school subjects. Individual potentiality is a vague quality about which we know little. Yet individual potentiality is an unmarketable commodity if the child has no means of developing it, or if there are no ways of identifying it. The intelligence instruments identify only a particular limited kind of potentiality, namely, the capacity to manipulate verbal symbols and abstractions. These are precisely the accomplishments which are the least stimulated in the culturally deprived environment. These tests further impose the cultural conventions of the test maker (Sigel, undated). This culturally biased choice of the test content combined with the limited range of mental systems represented in the performance required produces the phenomenon of a hidden IQ or undiscovered potential.

Recently the role of environmental stimulation in the development of functioning intelligence has been explored also. These studies have defined intelligence as a transaction between an individual and his motivation and the enviornmental stimulation (Guilford, 1956; Hunt, 1961; Miner, 1957).

Environmental stimulation involves more than the degree, complexity, and variation of the environment. It involves, also motivation or the extent to which the environment affects the individual's responses. The variations in these responses are generated in part by the individual's potential and his motivation, and in part by the availability of adult mediation in facilitating conceptualization. A potentially rich environment may therefore be functionally unstimulating if exploited to the fullest. Variety of stimulation combined with adult mediation tends to sharpen and to force the accommodating modification in the mental structure. Research in cognition indicates that the greater the variety of stimulation and the number of situations which challenge modification of conceptualization the more mobile and differentiated the mental structure becomes (Hunt, 1961; Taba, Levine, Elzey, 1964). Deprivation in any of the three--stimulus variation, motivation, and adult mediation in processes of abstraction--may cause retardation in the functioning intelligence. Early stimulation may even be crucial to laying the psychological foundation for the capacity to process information, hence a prolonged early stimulus deprivation may create a lifelong handicap in response capacity and in assimilating and manipulating facts and ideas (Hebb, 1949).

Studies of the development of the higher mental processes also suggest that the emergence of the full potential involves a sequential order of cognitive activity, which moves from the manipulation of concrete objects to manipulation of abstract symbols, and that each step is a prerequisite for adequate functioning on the next level (Taba, Levine, Elzey, 1964). It is possible that the "disadvantaged" children suffer not only from stimulus deprivation but also from gaps in some important step in the development of cognitive functioning, such as sufficient opportunity to manipulate concrete objects and events, necessary to develop the requisite basis for abstract thinking and concept formation.

The above deficiencies may be responsible for the quantitative reduction in mental operations, such as reduced capacity to perceive, to differentiate, and to perceive relationships. It may also produce a qualitatively different mental system, in which case the meaning of cues may vary and the verbal symbols have a reduced role.

Deficiencies in cognitive functioning alone, no matter how serious, might be easier to correct if it were not for the additional complications of emotional characteristics and attitudes. The psychologists describe a syndrome of feelings and attitudes which the majority of culturally deprived children tend to share, as follows: both the family climate and individual experience tend to induce a feeling of alienation; their self-concept is low--they question their own worth, fear being challenged, have a desire to cling to the familiar, and have many feelings of guilt and shame; there is a limited trust in adults; they tend to respond with trigger-like reactions, are hyperactive, and have a low standard of conduct generally; and usually show apathy and lack of responsiveness; it is difficult for them to form meaningful relationships (Krogman, 1956).

These tendencies translate themselves into an attitudinal orientation which is difficult for teachers to understand: a negative attitude toward school, teachers, and environment; the apparent lack of motivation; and the general unresponsiveness and hostility to everything connected with school.

Few of these facts and their consequences are new. Already in 1950 Allison Davis pointed out (in his speech to the White House Conference) that 40 per cent of children go through school untouched by it except for acquiring a meagre literacy. The project in Intergroup Education documented many of these conditions in schools in large urban centers (Taba, 1955). But 1965 is not 1950. Re-evaluation is in order. Quantitatively the problem of the educationally disadvantaged has acquired a new magnitude. The meaning of facts has been changed for us. We know more about the dynamics of deprivation, about learning and teaching, and about the processes by which groups operate. The atmosphere has changed also: the social pressures are sometimes incendiary; the unrest in the community is a fact to be recognized in the classroom; there are sit-in's, shop-in's, lie-in's, picketing, and protest marches; of concern to teachers is the immediacy of the feeling in student absorbed from their parents' politics. And how much more inflammatory is the feeling now when the symbol is more important than the reality. Above all, expectations regarding educational opportunities on the part of the deprived have grown faster than have the realities.

Factors in School Experience

First, there is a discrepancy between the cognitive, perceptual, and emotional development of the child and the school expectations and curriculum. The school curriculum, including the selection of content, the way of organizing instruction, the whole system of grading was structured at a time when few of the students who now complete twelve years remained in school beyond the primary grades. While revisions have been made, in pacing, the essential structure of the program has been changed very little. This program has overlooked the many differences in the meanings involved in the content of the curriculum and the meanings which the children from a deviate background attach to the verbal cues of that content, and the ways in which this discrepancy impedes academic performance. This discrepancy is more than a deficit in skills. It also represents a discontinuity between the conceptual scheme and meanings acquired in previous experience and that employed or implied in curriculum and teaching. For example, experiments in substituting more appropriate details for elucidating an abstract idea have brought out a heretofore unsuspected power of abstract thinking in students who were regarded as retarded and incompetent.

The differences between the social learning of the children and the schools also creates severe acculturation problems which further affect their academic performance. It is difficult for any person to span two cultures. For the first grader to have to do it is a difficult enough task to result in culture shock. If the discontinuities in the demands of the two contending cultures are mild they may only impede the socialization power of the school. If they are severe they may lead to disorganization or neurotic behavior (Allinsmith and Goethals, 1956).

The problem of acculturation is still more severe for the minority children, for in their case the problems of isolation, language, conduct, and the difficulties with academic curriculum content converge. Elam describes the consequences of the acculturation shock in Puerto Rican children, which causes them to cease responding altogether, to evade responsibility because to function is to fail, or, in milder cases, to "tune out" when directions are given (Elam, 1960).

Discrepancies exist also between the motivating devices used in school and the motivational patterns of the students. Achievement as a means of making further education possible is relatively little understood. Getting by rather than getting ahead is, therefore, the rule. Hence, grades, promotions, and all other similar extrinsic incentives are ineffective. Much work has been done in the ways of kindling inherent motivation by using concrete experience from the context of the lives of the students as a starting point for developing cognitive powers and for creating a sense of adventure in ideas and a sense of mastery of the content (Taba and Elkins, 1950).

The Vicious Circle

These deficiencies in the background and the problems encountered in the school compound themselves in a vicious circle. Culturally deprived children come to school with acculturation problems, an ill-developed capacity to differentiate and to conceptualize experience, and less well-developed verbal articulation than the school work requires. This results in lower performance on ability tests, which leads to designating them as slow learners. This reduces the already low self-esteem and self-expectation. Meanwhile, these children are required to learn the most crucial skill--reading--at a point at which the acculturation problems are at their peak. The first graders from culturally deprived homes thus carry a double load in their first school year: that of mastering a new skill while handicapped with problems of acculturation and lack of readiness for reading. Naturally, it is impossible for them to master either task adequately.

Moreover, the "socialization" processes carried on in the school require him to deprecate both himself and his parents, his way of life and the values which he has invested with feelings and emotional identification, and on which, therefore, his self-esteem rests.

The net result is that these students are labelled uneducable and treated as such. Little is expected of them and little is offered. The students, in turn, expect little and get little. Comparatively speaking, such students get "dumber" as they grow older. This, in turn, adds to the lowering of self-expectation and generates hostility to school, teachers, and the whole business of learning. This is probably the dynamics which turns the children, who in kindergarten are described as "curious," "cute," "affectionate," and "warm," though mischievous, into ones described in the fourth grade as "alienated," "withdrawn," "angry," "passive," and "apathetic" (Deutsch, 1962, p. 3). Something is happening in this three years for which the school itself is responsible.

Implications for Teaching Strategy

Bearing in mind the multiple criteria for making decisions about the teaching strategy, the above analysis has many implications for instruction. It is clear, in the first place, that it is next to useless to talk about teaching strategies apart from the curriculum. The two must be consistent with each other. Curriculum organization, after all, does circumscribe the kind of teaching that is possible, and a curriculum which is not implemented by appropriate teaching strategies.

One needs to bear in mind, first, that in the schools with student populations of the kind described in the preceding pages, the chief role is that of a countervailing agency. The school must fill the gap left by their previous experience or it will not succeed at any other task. One is distressed, therefore, to see as overwhelming an emphasis on remedial action as seems to prevail in what has been called compensatory education. This is especially when remedial work only repeats the content and the methods which already have proven unsuccessful. Usually, also, remedial action is taken at a point when the difficulty (e.g., reading disability, problem behavior) has become all too obvious or intolerable.

It seems clear also that a multifaceted program is needed on two counts. Pursuit of multiple objectives is indicated and the problems themselves are multifaceted. If there is a principle governing program building in this area, it is that no single device suffices, such as remedial reading, counseling, visiting operas or reciting poetry in Old English. Further, while remedial or compensatory programs at a point in the school career at which their manifestations are sharpest cannot be overlooked, the major burden of preventive action must be directed at a point where the roots of the problem are, namely to the primary and pre-primary years.

For example, if the burdening of these children simultaneously with two critical tasks, the acculturation to school and learning to read are to be avoided, either learning to read needs to be distributed over a longer period of time (and consequently the learning tasks requiring reading postponed also), or a year or two of pre-schooling needs to be added.

The shifts in program cannot be addressed to quantitative dimensions alone; teaching the same things by the same methods, but to smaller classes and covering less in qualitative changes both in content and in methods of learning and of teaching are required also. These changes involve alterations in several dimensions of teaching and curriculum which might be sketched as follows:

1. It was pointed out above that one would expect differences both in the mental or cognitive systems and in the emotional and attitudinal dynamic. These differences would suggest even a greater necessity to pursue objectives other than knowledge with the disadvantaged children than with the so-called "advantaged" ones.

2. Once the school assumes the responsibility for multiple objectives it also forces the task of first differentiating the teaching strategies which are optimal for each area of objectives (e.g. knowledge, thinking, attitudes, feelings and skills).

3. Our ideas about "good teaching" are too global and undifferentiated to allow teachers to be effective with any students except those who are capable of learning a great deal in spite of how they are taught. One cannot, for example, assume that the methods effective for acquiring information are also effective for developing skills in thinking. This is especially true of students whose powers of abstraction, and therefore of transfer, are underdeveloped (or low). For these students especially, sharply focused teaching strategies are needed.

4. Recent research on cognitive development (Piaget, Flunt 1960, Taba 1962, Levine and Elzey 1964) indicates that an inductive sequence which starts with concrete operations and ends with formal thinking and manipulation of abstract symbols is a necessary condition for the development of

mature and autonomous thinking. To the extent that the "deprived" children are deficient in the kind of learning that comes from manipulating concrete objects and events to that extent this emphasis on an inductive sequence of learning is even more important for them in order to prepare them for "abstract" thought and thereby to unlock their "hidden IQ's."

5. A recent study of thinking (Taba, et. al., 1964) of the elementary school children also suggested that modification of two elements in teaching strategy brought out a capacity in some "low ability" students. One was the reduction in the burdening of memory by reducing the coverage of descriptive detail, while intensifying the depth study of carefully sampled factual detail. Evidently some students now considered low in ability are only slow absorbers. Relieved of the pressure to absorb poorly organized details some of these students showed a capacity for abstract thinking fully equal to that of students with much higher IQ's.

   This emphasis on the development of abstract concepts and cognitive powers should not be confused with vocabulary development. The former starts with activities calculated to stimulate certain cognitive skills and ends in language with which to express what is at first discovered operationally. The latter starts with verbal cues for which there are few operative references.

   This emphasis on the cognitive aspect of growth may seem out of place in this context. The usual trend is to concentrate on skills and attitudes, on the assumption that the emphasis on thinking better be reserved for classes less beset with handicaps. Yet, if one assumes that cognitive operations are basic to making sense out of school learning and of the world around one, a different perspective opens up regarding the function of these operations. They serve not only to open up motivation, but may even contribute to strengthening the ego expectations in ways not touched by direct attack.

   The second element of teaching strategy which seems to have contributed to the development of cognitive powers of students usually untouched by academic content was the pacing of the rotation of assimilative processes and the explanatory and generalizing activities, (of the "what" and "why" questions). The usual pacing allows too little time to assimilation to permit the slower students to enter into data processing, and therefore to partake of such operations as comparing and contrasting information, explaining, inferring and generalizing.

6. Emphasis on the above naturally takes time and therefore represents a danger of diluting the content. However this danger can be avoided with a more adequate analysis of the levels of knowledge and of the respective functions of each level. Content can be broken down into three different levels: (a) the major concepts which constitute the recurrent trends to which return engagements are made over many grade levels; (b) the basic generalizations or ideas which serve to focus learning in particular areas of knowledge; and (c) the specific information which serves as food for thought. It is the last that constitutes the bulk of "coverage," and which could be reduced with adroit sampling. The concepts and ideas are fundamentals and as such should be mastered in one degree or another by everyone. By the same token, the specific information can be selected according to the variations in experience or interest, since presumably many different kinds of detail are equally capable of generating the general ideas and concepts.

7. The above method of organizing and handling content promises also to strengthen motivation. If at least the opening steps in a learning sequence engage the students by providing a bridge from their experience to further learning and by stimulating the necessary cognitive skills, a double reinforcement of intrinsic motivation becomes possible: the distance between the out-of-school experience and the school curriculum is reduced, and appropriate stepping stones to understanding are provided.

8. Perhaps the greatest block to success in school for disadvantaged children lies in their emotional dynamic: the low self-concept, the negative feelings about school, the absence of a model for linking effort with success. This suggests a need for emphasis on emotional content in curriculum; materials, which make an impact on feelings, which generate insight into values, and which permit an analysis of human factors and relationships in events of life. The treatment of such materials for the purpose of altering personal feelings and of cultivating sensitivity requires teaching strategies for which teachers tend to be the least prepared. Among these are the methods of conducting open-ended discussions, of permissiveness and acceptance of deviation, of withholding judgmental evaluation and other ways of allowing students to alter their views and feelings by experiencing contrasts instead of being subjected to external pressures. Such teaching strategies demand of teacher a greater cosmopolitanism of human sensitivity than they usually possess and put a greater demand on professionalizing instruction than is usually the case. Few teachers today have even the rudimentary understanding of the emotional patterns in general, let alone of the emotional dynamic of the "deviate" student. Hence, they find it difficult to bring their materials and teaching techniques in line with the emotional realities of the students they teach.

9. Two additional factors in the total teaching strategies deserve mention. One is the employment of the interaction in the class group as a source of learning, and another is the use of peer group activities as a method of cultivating a sense of belonging.

   It is surprising to note that in spite of considerable evidence of the efficacy of "belonging" in school life as a factor in enhancing learning and staying power so little has been done in the current programs for the culturally deprived in creating fuller participation in school life and forms of grouping and of learning which enhance interaction and a sense of belonging. Opportunities for interaction present within a sufficient heterogeneity in cultural background and ability would permit the learning of the culture across the shoulder, so to say. The learning of the common culture is too often made difficult when this learning has to be accomplished across the social distance, from verbal exhortations, and not from models and examples. Wisely designed cultural heterogeneity in classrooms combined with opportunities for interaction probably would do much to reduce the cultural deprivation by making available models for motivation, conduct, ways of thinking, and aspirations--as well as for language patterns.

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REPORT OF PLENARY DISCUSSION OF HILDA TABA'S PAPER

Accepting the need for greater continuity of learning among disadvantaged children, what is the feasibility of providing the same learning environment (teacher) over several years? It is important to have the same teaching strategies, not necessarily the same teacher. Emphasis should be on complete development, socially, mentally, physically. How to provide missing steps? Teachers do not draw from children enough, but rather attempt to pour knowledge in. With these children group interaction may have to start with dyads, then build up pyramidally to triads, etc. because some seventh graders operate with second grade motivation and capacities. Start at the simplest level and rebuild. This requires a differentiated content of instructional material as well. The rigor of math is not applicable in social studies. Math needs homogeneity in learning groups, whereas social studies need heterogeneity. Apply universal principles in hard sciences, then move to social science which is probabilistic, or "ifsy-butsy" in nature. There is need for greater awareness of cause-effect relationships. The "why" model of study is not prevalent, only the "what," particularly among the disadvantaged. A cognitive conceptualizing mode of thinking is uncommon.

How is this process accomplished with pupils in low frustration tolerance? This approach is to develop a simple procedure, e.g., one sentence instruction; variation of content; frequent repetition; and immediate reinforcement similar to programmed learning.

An essential need is decontamination of anti-school attitudes and negative learning motivation through ego gratification from successful learning experiences. Increased ego control and delay of impulses can be accomplished in part by dramatization and developmental sequences of learning material. There is need for data on the environmental influences affecting behavior and learning outside of school.

PROPOSALS FOR THE EDUCATION OF SCHOOL PERSONNEL FOR WORK WITH INNER-CITY SITUATIONS

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I. Assumptions

This conference is based upon several assumptions about the current educational situation in the inner-city schools of American metropolitan areas. No doubt the situation varies in important details from city to city. Any multi-regional effort to improve the quality of education for the educationally disadvantaged children who abound in our inner cities - and we are projecting the outlines of one such effort - need to take special local conditions into account in launching thoughtful and realistic experimental efforts. But attention to common features of all inner-city situations is also necessary to insure valid generalization for findings which result from local experimentation and research within the framework of a nation-wide program. Our assumptions suggest a common framework not alone for this conference but for a multi-regional program of experimentation and research which we hope will issue from our deliberations. Are our assumptions correct and adequate?

One assumption is that typical current programs of teacher education are not geared to helping teachers deal educatively with many of the individual students and groups of students whom they meet in the classrooms of inner-city schools. Moreover, we believe that some of the major difficulties for teachers in these schools center in a widespread lack of student motivation to learn what the schools have to offer. Teachers have typically been trained to employ teaching technologies[1] which assume that "normal" children bring with them to school some degree of motivation to "do well" there. Teachers are taught to build on motivation to do well in school which is already present in "normal" students. Such motivation has been assumed to stem both from inherent individual interest in learning on the part of students and from pressures by family and neighborhood "sub-cultures" upon students to meet achievement norms set up by the schools. Neither of these sources of vicariously induced motivation to accept the schools as important or legitimate agencies with the socialization process can today be assumed by teachers for students from lower class and some Negro sub-cultures in large city schools. Teachers there confront many students with culturally reinforced indifference toward schools and school achievement. In many cases, they confront culturally reinforced hostility toward the middle class and/or "white" values for which teachers, white or black, are seen by students as surrogates. Where such motivational conditions prevail, granted lack of teacher preparation to cope with them, schools tend to become custodial rather than educational institutions.

The chasm between teachers' values and role prescriptions and the values and motivations of many of their students can, of course, be related also to the widening gap between children and adolescents, on the one hand, and adults, on the other, throughout our society, a gap frequently noted by students of contemporary socialization processes. The major difficulty in teaching, on this view, is related to a growing cross-generational cleavage and conflict between the "sub-cultures" of young people and the "sub-cultures" of adults.[2] And while we may be cautious with Berger[3] about the feasibility of the concept of "youth" as a distinct "sub-culture," we cannot lightly dismiss the well-documented facts of cross-generational conflict and cleavages in all social classes in America today and the difficulties these produce in gearing student motivation toward academic achievement and in desirable teacher-student relationships. Seen in this way, the educational problem we are dealing with is not limited to inner-city schools. It is, in varying ways, a problem in outer-urban, suburban and village-rural schools as well. And no doubt this is true. But the cross-generational gap in inner-city schools is compounded by inter-class and inter-racial factors, as well as by conditions of widespread family and neighborhood disorganization, frequently to the point of crisis and emergency. It is this emergency character which justifies efforts to focus our search for more adequate teaching technologies in inner-city school situations. The fact that certain aspects of the teaching problem are more evident and widespread there gives promise that effective teaching technologies developed for inner-city situations will be generalizable, at least in part, to other school situations as well.

If we are right in our assumptions so far, the teaching technologies required must extend beyond the manipulation and reenforcement of student motivations to learn which are generated independently of the teaching-learning situation. They must include ways of generating motivation to learn within the teaching-learning situation itself. And this generation of motivation must take place in direct relation to forces of culturally reenforced indifference and/or hostility toward schools and schooling; orientations brought to school by many inner-city students from their families and neighborhoods.

A second assumption is that the most likely way of generating student motivation within the teaching-learning situation itself is to be found within the utilization of forces of peer group influence upon individual student members. That a principal source of negative motivation toward school and school achievement is in the peer groups of adolescents and younger children has been noted by a number of students of schools and of socialization. These observations attest to the power of peer group standards in shaping the motivational systems of their members. But this same power opens up also the possibility of building peer groups in school and classroom situations with standards that support rather than contravene student motivation to learn. Successful attempts to use group experiences to generate individual motivation in members to learn and to change have frequently been reported. Most of these reports have come from outside formal school situations. "Laboratory methods" of learning, most frequently used with adult learners, are an example of one such attempt.[4] Detached group work with deliquent or proto-delinquent groups of young people represents another such attempt in which group-reenforced hostility toward adults and adult-controlled institutions must be contravened.[5] And reports concerning the use of peer group experiences in Soviet schools in the service of character education are also suggestive in this connection.[6]

In most of these cases, adult leaders (teachers) are required who have been educated to make use of themselves as a focus of group reenforced hostility and to work through this hostility toward a condition of interdependence and mutual trust within the group. In this new group atmosphere, empirical realities can be faced openly, and autonomously created ways of managing the confronting realities produced and tested. Teachers who are to utilize peer group forces effectively in generating motivation in students to cope with school and school-community realities and to learn in the process must be educated to use themselves (and to permit themselves to be used) in such quasi-therapeutic ways by groups of students.

Actually, the training of teachers in quasi-therapeutic group work is not enough. Teachers must learn to "face the facts" of their own class and ethnic perspectives, frequently unexamined, and to understand and accept the differing class and ethnic perspectives of the students with whom they work in inner-city schools if they are to cope effectively with the intergroup forces operating in their classrooms. Often they complicate these forces unwittingly because of their lack of awareness of the partiality of their own "socially inherited" orientations and the effects of these upon children with other orientations. Teacher education must incorporate a deeply felt confrontation by teachers of intergroup differences and a working through, under appropriate conditions, of the "culture shock" which such confrontation always entails.

The last two paragraphs suggest some large part of a desirable general "curriculum" for the re-education of teachers for effective work with the group life of inner-city schools. More will be said later of how such re-educative efforts might be carried out experimentally on a large scale.

Of course, teachers cannot bear the burden of school experimentation under difficult situations unassisted and unsupported. School principals must share centrally in reeducative (training) efforts and in follow-up work designed to invent, install, and test new and more reality-oriented ways of working in schools, to build understanding and support in families, neighborhoods and other agencies for the school experimentation required, and to defend the schools from powerful forces in the community which have limited, if any, commitment to improving education for the educationally disadvantaged. Suggestions for needed "auxiliary" personnel and their recruitment and training will be presented later in this paper.

The prestige of teaching in inner-city situations must be enhanced within the educational profession in order to attract and retain able teachers for these situations. More will be said of this problem later.

A third assumption is that the resources of schools for teacher education and of social science departments in universities must be effectively joined with those of city school systems if significant experimentation in developing and testing new teaching technologies and formats for inner-city schooling is to be accomplished. The problem is, in part, one of finding ways of bringing relevant resources from the social and psychological sciences to bear effectively upon the clarification and solution of the human and ecological problems which inner-city schooling presents. And these resources are to be found in greatest abundance at present in colleges and universities. But the problem is also in part one of revising patterns of pre-service and in-service education of teachers to bring teacher education into living relationship with contemporary social and psychological realities, starkly evident in the schools of city slum areas. The inner-city schools represent a potential laboratory for the reforging of effective patterns of teacher education, for formulating and testing revised theories of teaching, and for defining and educating new educational roles auxiliary to those of teacher and administrator. Such work can benefit schools of education enormously in the years ahead. And, from the standpoint of the social sciences, work with inner-city schooling offers important opportunities for both applied and basic research in problems of socialization and social pathology and for training needed new categories of social scientists for both practitioner and research roles in school and community processes.

All the proposals which follow are premised upon the necessity of close teamwork between schools and universities. What the precise roles of schools and of universities in such teamwork will be we can only guess at the present time. That there will be difficulties in building the required collaborative relationships between schools and universities, between schools of teacher education and social science departments within universities, and between local school systems and between universities in a multi-regional effort, we are certain. But the social, moral and intellectual stakes are high enough to sustain us in overcoming these difficulties as they appear. Or so we believe.

A fourth and final assumption, already implied, is that any effective approach to developing and testing new and adequate teaching technologies for work in inner-city schools must be an experimental approach. No one group knows the answers at the present time. Yet much relevant knowledge is available in dispersed forms. The solution of the over-all problem has training, action and research dimensions. An experimental effort will seek to combine simultaneous work on all three dimensions. The experimental effort should be funded adequately to make possible simultaneous work in several parts of the country. This pattern will call for local school experimentation, involving the collaboration of local school systems with neighboring universities. But the funding should support efforts to attain some optimum degree of coordination and communication between local experimental efforts. This is important in attaining comparability between findings from local experiments, in facilitating desirable division of labor and in providing opportunities for sharing and replication of innovations and evaluation data within the over-all design. It is important also in mounting a nation-wide attack upon what is in fact a national problem. All of our proposals below assume this image of collaborative experimentation, although we are uncertain about what the optimum forms of collaboration will turn out to be at many points.

These then are our assumptions. How, more substantively, can we organize efforts to meet the current challenges of inner-city schooling which these assumptions, taken together, suggest?

II. Notes on the Reeducation of Teachers and Principals

Granted adequate funding, a number of city school systems and related universities should make some commitment to a limited term of experimentation toward the improvement of inner-city schooling. Cooperating schools within each school system will be chosen by local school superintendencies on the basis of local criteria, on the basis of criteria developed jointly by a council of school systems and universities to be developed for steering the program and on the basis of whatever preliminary diagnostic research the council considers desirable and feasible.

1. Training of Principals

A place to begin the training aspect of the program might be a summer program for the training of principals from selected cooperating schools, along with some central office personnel from the school systems which have joined the consortium effort. The training for principals should have the same two foci mentioned above as desirable for teachers--training in the use of group methods for learning, including the generation of motivation to learn against contravening motivations, and training in intergroup relations, including reexamination of own social class ethic and religious orientations in relation to those of others. The training period should also include planning and briefing for the next phases of the teacher education program. This training of principals should be a national event, bringing together selected principals from all school systems in the program and staffed by faculty members from all cooperating universities. Plans for local or regional programs of teacher training should be begun by local or regional teams as part of this training event.

2. Training of Teachers

Training for teachers from cooperating schools should be conducted on a regional or local basis. As in the training of principals, teacher training should be initiated in a residential setting, away from the teachers' place of work, with later stages of follow-up training and consultation conducted on and/or near the teaching job. Responsibility for staffing local or regional laboratories for teachers should rest with the cooperating university or universities near the school system or school systems from which the teachers come.

The training program for teachers should focus both on the use of group methods for learning and on the exploration of problems of intergroup relations. Principals, already trained, would be brought in during the training in order to plan follow-up steps with teachers from their buildings and to plan with university personnel concerning the desired and required division of labor between university and school system personnel in follow-up consultation in the school system.

While decentralized responsibility for planning, timing, and phasing training events for teachers should be the rule, a common design for evaluation research in all such events will be highly desirable in the interest of generalizing learnings from all parts of the program. Local variations in research beyond the common evaluation design should be encouraged.

3. Follow-Up Work in the Cooperating Schools

In general, follow-up work in the cooperating schools should be the joint responsibility of each school system and its local co-operating university or universities. In this follow-up work, teachers and principals will seek to translate the results of their training into plans for "new" teaching technologies for work with students - technologies adapted to their local situations, to install the "new" technologies in practice, and to help evaluate their impact upon students and schools. To help them in this work, resources will be made available from local universities and from trained auxiliary personnel in the local school system. Refresher training will be supplied as needed on or near the job.

Evaluation research processes will be built into local plans, again with assistance from cooperating universities. Spread of learnings to other parts of the school system might be accomplished through appropriately timed demonstrations, conferences and publications. Spread of findings on a regional or national scale might require a series of well-planned conferences as well as an exchange of written reports and evaluations. If funds are available, appropriately timed exchanges of personnel from one school system might be useful.

III. Notes on the Education of Auxiliary School Personnel

It has already been noted that teachers who are to develop, use and evaluate new teaching technologies will require special supports and assistance both from cooperating universities and from within their own school system. Part of their internal support will come from principals and colleagues who are committed to and trained for the same task. But other classes of personnel have already begun to emerge in school systems, and we believe it is now desirable to assess these classes of personnel in light of the current inner-city school-community situation. Experimentation with training and using new kinds of auxiliary personnel should accompany the training of principals and teachers in a multi-regional program for improving inner-city schooling.

1. Teacher Guidance Specialists

Under the best of circumstances, classroom teachers, especially those in elementary grades, are subjected to extraordinary emotional stresses and strains. No sympathetic observer can visit an elementary classroom without recognizing the multiplicity of social and psychological forces at play within its walls. Sometimes these forces are functional to the learning process. At other times, they become dysfunctional and destructive. Leaving to one side the degree to which a particular teacher's psyche may prescribe her own hell, teaching even under the best conditions can be an "emotionally hazardous" occupation.

This possibility is augmented in classrooms where the teacher comes out of a sub-culture significantly different, ethnically, racially or in terms of social class, from that of the bulk of her students. Here, in addition to the usual stresses and strains arising from the conflict of generations, are added the hazards of communication across sub-cultural lines, with their various differences in values, terminologies and norms of behavior. When to all these complexities is added the factor of teaching students who are poorly equipped in basic concepts, learning skills and learning motivations, it is not difficult to understand why teachers in inner-city schools not infrequently withdraw from the teaching-learning transaction.

This withdrawal by teachers should not be seen as necessarily an expression of prejudice or unprofessional motivation on the part of the teacher, but rather as an unconscious means of handling a situation of extreme anxiety. Thus, it is possible for teachers to emphasize the custodial dimensions of the teaching role to the virtual exclusion of more professional behavior. And this may come to define the modally prescribed posture of the teacher in a "slum school."

The training already discussed should help a teacher to understand the dynamics of the classroom group better and to understand her own dynamics in relation to students, individually and collectively, within the teaching-learning situation. But what is desperately needed in addition is continuing reenforcement of an extraordinary character--warm and psychologically astute support enabling teachers to sort out their own personal-psychological phenomena from the environmental stresses of teaching in "problem schools." In rare cases, this need can be supplied by an exceptional principal but experience suggests that we can no longer count on accidental circumstances in meeting the problem. Instead we must plan the purposeful introduction of supports of this order in the form of specially selected and trained personnel with assigned weekly or semi-weekly periods set aside for work with groups of teachers and principals.

A possible model for this sort of support for teachers comes from the "educator groups" established a number of years ago by a psychiatrist, Dr. Leo Berman, along with his students in the Boston area. Teachers from a building staff met periodically for a group session with Dr. Berman or one of his psychiatric colleagues. The group process was somewhere "between" that of a "sensitivity training group" and "group therapy." Teacher-members were able to develop insights into the meaning of their confrontations with students, with each other and with other school personnel. The groups served both the functions of social-psychological support for teachers and continuing learning opportunities for them.

Where might persons with the required qualifications for this kind of work with teachers be found? Psychiatrists would not be required to man these groups, though they might be very important in training persons to do so. Teachers, principals or guidance workers with considerable self-insight, warmth and personal strength could be recruited and given special intensive training under both "laboratory" and "field" conditions. The selection of such persons and their training at a university center might be phased into the early preparatory phases of the nation-wide program already outlined.

An unsolved question remains as to how such personnel should be "attached to" the school system. They could work out of the central office of the school system. This attachment might augment teacher suspicions of their function, breeding fantasies about them as "spies" or "judges" and interfering with teachers' ready use of their resources in periodic group sessions. An alternative would be to place this class of personnel in the school of education of a co-operating university which would contract with the school system for their continuing services. The disadvantage of this arrangement is that the school system is deprived of their continuing services throughout the school system as re-educative programs for teachers and principals spread in number beyond the originally experimenting schools.

We are quite certain that "teacher guidance specialists" should be selected, trained and made available to teacher-principal groups in inner-city schools as part of a multi-regional program. We are not at all certain of their best placement administratively in relation to the school system. Perhaps various designs could be tried in different school settings and their effectiveness comparatively evaluated.

2. School-Community Relations Workers

As we examine the current relations of inner-city schools to their surrounding communities, we are impressed by the need for two kinds of intermediaries between the school system and the organized and unorganized groups which function in its social environment. We have noted that the indifference toward schooling and/or the hostility toward schools and teachers and learning which many students bring with them to inner-city schools are generated and reenforced in the neighborhoods and larger society which surrounds the school. While properly trained and supported teachers, we believe, can generate alternative motivations within their classrooms and other intra-school associations, any long-range improvement of school-community relations in inner-city schools calls for a reorientation of significant segments of the schools' neighborhoods into partnership relationships with school personnel in the experimentation toward improved schooling going on in the schools. This educative approach to school-community relations calls for the inventive deployment and use of adult education resources in the neighborhoods of the schools. Suitable personnel need to be selected, trained and utilized for this purpose.

But schools also confront various organized segments of neighborhoods and cities which are primarily motivated by political concerns. The school tends to become a pawn in the political games being played on the neighborhood and the city stage. While political motivations among neighborhood leaders do not necessarily exclude appreciation of and respect for the strength and integrity of educational programs, the two motivations are not always conjoined in all leaders. And leaders who have little appreciation or concern for the professional quality and integrity of school programs are to be found today in civil rights organizations and anti-civil rights organizations, in ethnic groups, in religiously motivated groups, in patriotic groups and in political party organizations. The school has need for defense and mediation personnel in most urban settings today as well as for community adult education workers *per se*. We are proposing that the two functions be distinguished and experimental training and use of both kinds of personnel be initiated in a multi-regional effort to improve the quality of inner-city schooling.

a. Defense-Mediation Workers

New York City has for some years had a group of former classroom teachers assigned to act as liaison personnel between the leadership of congested school districts and local community organizations. It is our impression that most of these workers have been subjected to extreme role conflicts. The value of their work was seldom recognized and affirmed by teaching and administrative personnel in the schools. They found, in many cases, more favorable response from community groups and persons. They became in some cases community organizers channeling organized community pressures for change in school arrangements and practices into the schools. These efforts were not always appreciated by school authorities who already felt under sufficient pressures from the organized groups of the community. Although other cities have begun to experiment with school-community workers more or less according to the New York City model, it is questionable whether we can expect an institution, in this case the school system, to create and support a group of workers who, if "successful," will increase segmented and divisive pressures upon itself.

In the present situation, it is fortunately not necessary for the school system to be the organizer of neighborhood pressure groups. These already exist in ample supply with responsible and irresponsible leadership available in varying proportions. What now seems necessary is a new type of community relations professional who is identified with the school and its purposes and who can act as a mediator between the school and various community organizations and groups, as well as between community groups in their often contradictory demands upon the school system. These mediators should be clearly related and responsible to the school system. Their knowledge of the community and its dynamics should be at the disposal of the central office in its efforts to investigate, control and orchestrate community pressures. They should also be available to school principals in a training and consultant capacity.

An important function of these workers would be to investigate "incidents" and to help resolve these with a minimum damage to the integrity of the educational enterprise and, in so far as possible, with augmented trust on the part of members of the community in the reasonableness of school personnel in their responses to extreme, contradictory but sincere demands from their adult constituencies.

In installing such personnel in the school system, care will need to be exercised in avoiding usurpation of the principals' prerogatives, on the one hand, or in encouraging undesirable dependence and lack of initiative on the part of principals, on the other. The conflicts which require intervention by these school-community relations workers are those where consequences are beyond either the knowledge of or effective control by any particular school principal. Attacks on a specific course of study in several schools or area demonstrations against several schools are examples. This community relations worker should also be available to serve as the "eyes and ears" for each principal with whom he works in planning ways to deal with tensions between a particular school and various formal and informal groups within its neighborhood. Information about community reactions to particular school programs is essential in professional planning of effective school programs which are responsive to community needs. These workers could serve as information-gatherers and as channels for such information to flow into processes of professional decision-making.

How can we locate apt candidates for this job and how can they receive the training required for carrying out their tasks? Frequently, classroom teachers or principals, with a feel for the community, can be found who would make effective school-community workers of the kind described. Just as often professional personnel, now working in settlement houses and in community agencies, who have an interest in and feel for the school, could be recruited for this task. The training of this group of auxiliary workers would vary with their previous background and experience. It should probably be entrusted to a university center with close working relations with the school of education, the school of social work, as well as with relevant departments in the social sciences. Developing experimental school programs like those described above will furnish field work opportunities for such workers.

b. Adult Education Workers in School-Community Relations

We believe that there is an adequate supply of persons trained in community adult education, who, with proper backing from a school system and from university departments of social science, can be set to work in developing an educative socialization community for children and youth in which the school is a significant part. We are impressed by the soundness of Ronald Lippitt's description of approaches to the development of the socialization community in his paper prepared for this conference that we feel no need to spell out the goal toward which adult education workers in school community relations would strive nor indeed a need to spell out further his means of working with both professional, lay and youth leadership in the movement of the school toward such a goal. We do urge that special briefing and use of selected workers, trained in informal adult education, be phased into any multi-regional program developed for the improvement of inner-city schooling.

IV. Inner-City Centers for the Study of Teaching

We have spoken of the possibilities, feasibilities and desirabilities of launching a nation-wide, experimental program to improve the quality of inner-city schooling. We have called for co-operation between school systems, schools of education and university departments of social science in the effort. One criterion by which such an enterprise can be judged important is the personal needs of the children and young people in inner-cities for growth and fulfillment as persons and citizens. Another is the social need for developing the human resources now unevenly developed there. These essentially moral criteria are relevant and should not be denied.

But still another criterion is equally important. This criterion is involved in our emphasis upon what we may learn about teaching and teaching technology in such a program. And the potential learnings are, we have argued, important for the teaching profession, for institutions of teacher education and for the social sciences. The rewards of a nation-wide program can and should be cognitive as well as moral.

The rewards of teaching in inner-city schools are now largely satisfaction of needs for social service. For many teachers these rewards offset the psychological hazards already described. If the psychological hazards can be reduced and if teaching in inner-city schools can become in fact a contribution to professional growth and to the increase of professional and social knowledge more generally, can the attractiveness of teaching and administering in inner-city schools be increased for larger numbers of able and dedicated teachers and administrators than at present? And can the spread of knowledge of teaching attained there be effectively accomplished in the improvement of teaching and administering in other schools? We believe that an affirmative answer to both questions is realistically possible and that a nation-wide program for improving inner-city schooling should be planned and executed with this vision in mind.

As we have thought along this line an analogy between the teaching-research hospital in training and research for the health professions and the potentialities of inner-city schools in providing teaching-research centers for training and research in the educational professions has pressed itself upon us. Like all analogies, the proper use of this one requires caution. But the analogy seems to us worthy of further thought.

Medical, nursing and social work schools value large general urban hospitals as training and research centers because of the very abundance and variety of pathologies they provide for study, both by researchers and by students in training. They offer rare opportunities for developing, testing and improving diagnostic and treatment technologies, provided funds for research and training can be secured. Internships and residencies in training-research hospitals come to be prized by new and by established members of the health professions. And hospitals in "more favored" suburban settings profit gladly from the technologies developed in city hospitals. Cooperative arrangements between hospital practitioners and university people are part of the way of life in these medical centers.

Can training-research programs based in inner-city schools move toward a status comparable to the teaching-research medical centers in inner-city hospitals? How, cautiously, might the analogy work out in centers devoted to the invention, testing and spread of new teaching technologies?

Schools of education could furnish staff for training and follow-up work in inner-city teaching-research centers. Teachers and principals involved in developmental work in the schools could be given adjunct status in school of education faculties. Able teachers-in-training could be assigned for internships in inner-city projects. All of these relationships are alrealy in partial being from place to place in this country.

Jerome Bruner has stated that we now have theories of learning but no theory of teaching. There is some truth in Bruner's statement, though he may lack knowledge of such theories of teaching as we now have. We have suggested that extant present theories of teaching and related teaching technologies fail to combine effective work with the motivational, emotional and cognitive aspects of the teaching-learning situation in intimate relationship to each other. Where these aspects of the teaching-learning situation have fallen apart, as in inner-city schools, theories and techniques which unite them become a necessity, not just a pleasant desirability. Effective theorizing and research concerning teaching processes and interrelated processes of teacher education need to be focused in inner-city situations so that our general professional deficiencies with respect to teaching can be corrected.

There are many able researchers in professional education but their efforts need to be supplemented by those of social scientists. Research into teaching and change is as valid a concern of social scientists as of educational researchers in the narrower sense. Certainly bio-chemists and bio-physicists have enriched the findings of medical practitioners and researchers in medical centers and continue to do so. Internships and residencies for new members of the social science professions in inner-city teaching-research centers would be as valuable for them as similar internships and residencies for new members of the educational profession would be.

Teams of teachers from suburban school systems might be brought into inner-city teaching research centers to learn as well as to teach and to help develop new teaching technologies. Exchange teams of teachers from inner-city schools might carry their new skills for further testing into suburban schools. But these "out patient" activities belong to the future rather than to the present.

Perhaps these meager suggestions indicate that the analogy between teaching-research medical centers and teaching-research-development centers in inner-city schools is not "mere analogy" and is worthy of further exploration. Meanwhile, the first step remains for us: the conceiving and launching of a nation-wide program for improving the quality of teaching in inner-city schools along lines already suggested. And this nation-wide program requires two kinds of support: (a) the imaginative collaboration between teaching and administrative personnel from large city school systems, teacher educators and social scientists from universities such as we have begun at this conference; (b) extensive funding of experimental efforts from private and public sources.

Footnotes

1. A "teaching technology," as we are using the term, includes means for diagnosing the human and ecological factors in a teaching-learning situation as well as means of teacher intervention, both in designing learning situations and in specific teacher-student interactions, to bring these factors as diagnosed into support of desirable learning processes and outcomes.

2. The following treatments of socialization pathologies, whatever their differences, emphasize difficulties in adult-youth relationships.

James S. Coleman, Adolescent Society, Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1961.
Edgar L. Friedenberg, The Vanishing Adolescent, Dell Publishing Company, New York, 1962.
Paul Goodman, Growing up Absurd, Random House, New York, 1960.
Ernest Smith, American Youth Culture, Free Press, Glencoe, Illincis, 1962.

3. Bennet Berger, "A Critique of a Youth Sub-Culture," Social Problems.

4. Leland Bradford, Jack Gibb and Kenneth D. Benne, T-Group Theory and Laboratory Method, Wylie, New York, 1963, offers the most comprehensive report of laboratory methods of using group experiences to motivate and enrich individual learning. See also Kenneth D. Benne, "The Uses of Fraternity," Daedalus, Spring, 1961, pp. 233-246, and Warren Bennis, Kenneth D. Benne and Robert Chin, The Planning of Change, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1961.

5. Reaching the Fighting Gang, New York City Youth Board, New York, 1960, also Ralph Kolodny, Samuel Waldfogel and Virginia Burns, "Summer Camping in the Treatment of Ego-Defective Children," Mental Hygiene, Volume 44, 1960.

6. Urie Bronfenbrenner, "Soviet Methods of Character Education: Some Implications for Research," Religious Education, July-August, 1962, pp. 45-61.

REPORT OF PLENARY DISCUSSION OF BENNE AND BIRNBAUM PAPER

Why are not typical teacher education programs fully helpful for prospective inner-city teachers? Teachers used to assume that students brought motivation for learning to school with them. Old colonial stock had an investment in learning. Each wave of immigrants maintained motivation for education and it became the American creed. Doing well in school was important and teachers did not have to face problems of motivation. Families and neighborhoods reinforced pressure for school success. Teachers now have to confront the problem of how to generate motivation for learning. They can no longer rely upon simply manipulating a motivated child.

Indifference, hostility to and alienation from school increases as children progress unsatisfactorily through the grades. What is the course of this alienation? What does the school do which fosters the schism or fail to do to prevent or close it? Students of the socialization process stress that growing intergenerational as well as intra- and interracial gaps and clashes contribute to the overall tensions. Teacher technologies and strategies are varied to suit particular school situations but much which proved beneficial in one place is generalizable to others. There is great need for improved diffusion of proven practices.

Schools must find ways of generating motivation for learning. Most teachers assume classrooms are learning groups, but frequently they are collections of individuals or sub-groups. The use of peer groups in imaginative, refreshing ways can affect the motivational systems of students. Peer groups possess considerable power and influence, little of which is used in the interests of learning.

Many questions were raised by the assumptions of the paper. Are inner-city schools today really different from the past? Is there a danger in overemphasizing the difference between inner-city and suburban school districts? The political aspects and structure of megalopolis presents problems with a mixture of elements. Megalopolis is as far beyond the era of early urbanization as the latter was to the rural era. The inner city characterizes the present era. Inner cities are not co-terminal with political boundaries. Today educational problems must be identified, diagnosed and resolved in terms of a megalopolis. Is it a Negro, Mexican, migrant, or metropolitan problem? For example, the student body of Los Angeles numbers 700,000 and is growing by 30,000 annually; the school system employs 40,000 people of whom 100 are physicians. Transiency and mobility are primary problems in such areas where pupil turnover runs as high as 50 per cent. Lack of motivation for learning may be a symptom of these conditions rather than an expression of the culture values of inner-city residents.

Can we assume that there is less acceptance of the school in the inner city? There is disillusionment with traditional schooling but not with education. Has not resistance to school been traditional in American culture? e.g. the writings of Mark Twain? Is there severe negative motivation toward learning and school or simply indifference? Is the assumption that indifference and/or hostility pervades all grades kindergarten through eighth valid? Is the existing color pathology surrounding school integration making the major difference in school problems?

There is increasing cleavage between pro- and antischool attitudes within the school population; the pro-faction tends to go underground rather than be labeled "teachers pets," or its contemporary equivalent. But intergenerational alienation is not so much hostility as it is disappointment and disillusionment with education. Commitment increases when involvement is made possible. Adolescents in Michigan are sponsoring training sessions for parents and teachers, telling them how they see adults. A tremendous resource exists within heterogeneous populations for constructive solutions to many problems, including intergenerational tensions.

The assumption that all pupils were motivated is not correct. There has been little change in the desire for functional education by parents or pupils. Most parents want to improve the plight of their children. The desire for self-improvement is universal. Inner-city parents, too, want their children to go farther educationally than they. Consensus was that whatever the historical evolution, a description of the contemporary situation needs attention. The existence of a special problem cannot be denied.

Teachers need to use a variety of technics to test their assumptions. What preparation do they have to do this? There is need for them to re-examine the role of schools. They are neither traditional nor experimental, their status is unclear. There is a need for rejuvenation of community cooperation in operation of schools. With school integration there has been a changing attitude among slum parents during the past five years. Education has reassumed value because of increased hope for better employment opportunities among negroes. Once more it represents a way out of the ghetto. Areas of high delinquency still show considerable cooperation with the establishment. Inner-city parents are neither different nor necessarily more difficult than suburban parents. In fact "silk-stocking" district parents try to tell the schools what to do, whereas inner-city parents leave this task to the professional educator. However, special remedial, corrective, compensatory, or ameliorative programs frequently are not acceptable to these parents. They want their children to have the same programs as everyone else, not something special which may not be proven and makes them feel different. The regular diet is more palatable than "organ meats" even though the latter is more nutritious.

What new procedures will have to be incorporated to help? The comment was made that the gap between inner city and suburbia was illustrated by the Conference. There is a tendency not to treat the emergency aspects of the inner city. The analog of a patient with cancer was cited. The cancer patient needs special, immediate treatment as does the disadvantaged population. In a disaster, any kind of help is utilized rather than waiting for the results of carefully controlled experimentation, and inner-city schools comprise a disaster area.

A needed step is to determine what is generic in the curriculum which all students must learn. Although we can move to the peer group for help, other methods and approaches will also be needed. There is need for more transferable and functionally utilizable learning, training for careers and probable job opportunities. Education is a matter of competency with consensual and vocational validation. Pupils of inner-city schools should be able to feel they are as important as everyone else. However, the reality is that people cannot feel that "Negroes are like everyone else" because they are different in many dimensions; the most obvious being pigmentation. Though cultural differences may be less noticeable, they are differences that must be worked with. We need to recognize and understand differences rather than assume a "melting pot" orientation.

Curricula must not add to alienation but must be flexible and possess adaptive sensitivity to difference. Similarly there is a need to train teachers to adapt to individual pupils.

What factors contribute to the problems of recruitment for inner-city schools? Some teacher training institutions were alleged to have steered their candidates away from inner-city schools because they felt their students were not adequately prepared to cope with these school populations. Some candidates look at the buildings and environs and prefer the suburbs. Yet inner-city systems provide extensive support and in-service training for beginning teachers. They are ready to establish laboratory experimental and demonstration schools for pre-service training in the inner-city areas with the collaboration of local teacher training institutions. There is a need for increased rewards, prestige and credit for teaching in inner-city schools. Supervisory training teachers should have some adjunct faculty status.

Another factor is the perennial rift between academicians and practitioners. Consensus was that schools in disadvantaged areas should be training centers for future teachers in these schools rather than having separate training centers. There should be increased cooperation between teacher training institutions and their customers in providing training on location in the inner-city school systems rather than in ivory towers on college campuses. The feeling of school administrators was that pedagogs should come to learn as well as teach. The major responsibility of the staffs of these training centers would be to work with pupils and parents. There is need to recognize that neither pupils, parents, nor teachers come in neat packages. The question is how best to train teachers for all schools. A cooperative group program of teacher training could do much to lessen the mobility and emigration of good or promising teachers out of the poorer school districts.

Given good basic resources of personnel in both practitioner and social engineering areas there remains the need to build effective team relationships. A need to speak American rather than pedagese was expressed by the practitioners while the researchers countered with the point that we must not confuse clear communication with the client with basic scientific terminology. We must work at the conceptual level in the technical language of social engineering since basic English is inadequate for effective communication in this realm.

Two complicating factors are interacting in retarding change and innovation in education. We are trying to run integrated schools but lack sufficient experience in how to do it. The educational hierarchy has established standardized working conditions and ways of operating. There is a need to avoid causing teachers to feel devalued and diluted by non or sub-professional personnel. Although the principal usually possesses the greatest leverage as a potential change agent, even he has difficulty making innovations, to say nothing of diffusing them once they have been tested.

A model for developing change efforts is necessary. How to get collaboration of supervisors in identifying "model" principals and procedures? Schools need these model principals whom others can emulate. One solution is demonstration units, similar to agricultural demonstration "farms," in each system where the principal is a resource person. These principals in turn would help to make new teaching procedures more visible and diffusable through their own influence as models. They should help administrative personnel determine criteria and how to disseminate the practice. A frequent deficiency in education is the defensiveness of teachers regarding the visibility of their quality performance, i.e., they may be doing a superb job with a novel idea but be afraid to let anyone know about it. These demonstration units would help to identify sub-professional activities in which lay people, untrained and inexperienced but willing parents and adults could participate. Principals and lay persons could think through their respective roles.

Should demonstration and consultation staff come from within or outside the system? Demonstrations from within the system are preferable. They provide indigenous high quality performances which will more readily become springboards for diffusion in the system than will demonstrations from outside. Consultation might better come from the professional resources in the cooperating universities administratively separate from the school system. A proposed strategy was:

1. Avoid the pre- versus in-service training controversy by combining them.
2. Study successful schools and programs and identify the relevant variables, e.g. Shapiro's work in Harlem.
3. Do much preliminary work and planning on the role of the teacher, e.g., as a semi-therapeutic person.

Similarly the problem of "culture shock," the confrontation of cultural differences between pupils and teachers, is critical. How can teachers learn to confront their own biases and values in order not to unwillingly impose them on their students and to destroy the students' own sense of self worth? Teachers need help and support in coping with this shock and recognizing their unexamined, socially inculcated values. Until they can accept their own feelings teachers will have difficulty accepting the feelings of their students.

How to maintain quality control in developing new training programs? Educational professionalism has a long way to go in light of all the emergency provisions, certificates, etc., necessary to staff our schools. There is need for continuing control of the adequacy of teacher training personnel to meet the needs of the customer school systems. Strategies for teacher preparation need to emphasize greater collaboration between producers and consumers of teaching. Neither teachers nor principals can do the job alone. Education might well emulate nursing training although it would inherit the liabilities as well as the assets of that system, including the prevalence of conflict between supervisors and faculty. Another hindrance to developing new training programs arises when suggested improvements are felt to carry the implication of weakness and deficiency. The focus needs to be placed on improvement of the status quo and not on fault finding.

ISSUES TO CONSIDER IN EVALUATION AND RESEARCH DESIGNS FOR INNER-CITY PROGRAMS

ROBERT CHIN
BOSTON UNIVERSITY

As we move to the selection of a program of action, it is tempting to predesign the "ideal" program without taking into account the local conditions, local pressures and local interests. However, blending the available "expert" knowledge with the orientations of the local city, university and school personnel requires suspension of the premature closure on the action program and on the evaluation research designs. Thus this paper attempts to raise some issues in the evaluation designs for inner-city programs to take into account.

We shall examine the implications for designing evaluation research of the conditions within which the action program takes place and of some of the issues in evaluation: (1) social tensions; (2) functional purposes of doing research on applied settings; (3) total push and clean design; (4) selection of criterion or pay-off variables; (5) flow development and four kinds of variables to assess; (6) types of children and motivations; (7) necessary pre-installation data or evidence. Proposals for evaluation designs to study the interventions and innovations in the educational procedures for inner-city schools experiences for culturally deprived children, it is clear, will be as multi-faceted and multitudinous as the programs.

PROPOSITION ONE: SOCIAL TENSIONS AND EVALUATION

NO MATTER WHAT IS ATTEMPTED AND DONE IN ACTION PROGRAMS IN INNER CITIES, HOWEVER MASSIVE, BRILLIANTLY CONCEIVED AND EXECUTED, ANY ACHIEVED RESULTS WILL BE JUDGED INSUFFICIENT BY COMMUNITY GROUPS, PRESSURE GROUPS OR THEORISTS OF THE EDUCATIONAL SCENE. AND, AT THE SAME TIME, THERE WILL BE GROUPS WHO CLAIM WE "GO TOO FAR."

Leaders of the disadvantaged groups see the need for a massive rectification operation in the inner city and have created expectations in the community that the steps taken or to be taken will have significant results. It is quite apparent that we need to take into account strong values for desegregating classrooms and of achieving much more educationally than has been achieved hitherto. Desegregation in and of itself, without other accompanying alterations in educational practices will not produce the desired results for minority groups. We, in undertaking these action programs, are helping to fulfill the thesis that desegregated education is superior to segregated education. Since local decisions will have to be made about the selection of school locations, we cannot assume that all the program activities will be in balanced or unbalanced school rooms. In any event, there will be community concerns.

It is expected then that the evaluation research will be controversial and subject to charges of bias and misinterpretations.

PROPOSITION TWO: REFERENCE GROUPS AND AIMS

ANY EVALUATION RESEARCH PROGRAM SHOULD ANSWER TO SPECIFIC "CONCERNED" GROUPS AND MUST MEET SPECIFIC AIMS AND PURPOSES.

Applied research has been identified as serving many different purposes. The most usual purpose of evaluation is to serve the goals of the program sponsors and the scientists thirsting for new knowledge. The program sponsors and direct workers are asking questions in order to judge how effective the program has been.

In addition to the sponsor form of evaluation research, there should be added another form. We must confront the question of: to whom is the research addressed? What are their questions to which they want answers? What are the "layman's hypotheses?" In other words, we need to be clear about the "concerned" groups for evaluation research.

Why should we specify the concerned groups? Hitherto in many of the areas of our research, in mental health, in industrial training, in educational innovations, our "clients" of the research are our colleagues in our own or comparable fields, educational or policy leaders, or at times, the funding sources, who in many ways are like us. But the contemporary dilemma shows an intense and emotional involvement of the general public in educational policies and practices, a state we have often hankered after and now find a mixed blessing. (Of course, parents of only some of the children are as aroused.)

From each concerned group of parents, civic action groups, professional educators, teacher educators, school systems and teachers, civic authorities and so forth, we need to have their evaluation criteria, their bases of judgment of the worth of a program, their operational criteria of some of the factors under study, and so forth.

Another important group that is usually overlooked is the new set of potential customers. The diffusion of innovation underway in one district can be enhanced if we knew the new groups' criteria of judgment, their worst fears, and their hypotheses. In short, we are proposing a form of "market research" for a new product; i.e., the educational innovation which can be understood, modified, and for which evaluation research has answered some of the doubts, or expectations they have, not merely the ones we have had in designing and executing a program. I am confident that the questions the concerned groups would want answered would be of interest to us also. And, I suspect, it would be of some relief to the researchers to have some fixed anchorages for deriving evaluative criteria to use in the design of an overall program of research, however sound or unsound the scientist may consider their criteria to be.

PROPOSITION THREE: CLEAN EXPERIMENTAL DESIGNS

SINCE ANY SINGLE ALTERATION OR INTERVENTION, NO MATTER HOW WELL CONCEIVED AND EXECUTED, ALONE HAS SMALL CHANCE OF SUCCESS, THERE PROBABLY WILL BE A PROGRAM OF ACTION EMBODYING "TOTAL PUSH" AND "OVERDETERMINATION"; THEREFORE, RESEARCH CANNOT BE CONDUCTED WITH CLEAN DESIGNS. RESEARCH ON NARROWER ASPECTS CAN BE FITTED INTO A LARGE PROGRAM OF ANALYSIS TO HELP TEASE OUT CAUSAL CONNECTIONS.

The very nature of massive and multi-faceted intervention into the conditions of the education of culturally deprived children will preclude the "clean" design of single factor and single variant research leading to single outcomes, with all else controlled rigorously. The so-called "Hawthorne Effect," where the very fact of experimentation and increased attention does produce results, must be acknowledged in the design or in the conceptualization.

How then can research of quality be implemented? The use of high speed computers which can handle large numbers of variables in all of their interactions will provide one way. Given some acceptable criterion variables, multi-variate analysis can tell us the characteristics which distinguish one group from another, and one which attributes they differ.

At the same time, small and limited studies of selected aspects of the total processes at work can be delineated. Related intervening steps and outcomes need to be studied. At later points in this paper we shall return to this question.

PROPOSITION FOUR: CRITERION VARIABLES

BOTH THE ACTION PROGRAM OF TRAINING AND THE EVALUATION RESEARCH ACTIVITIES NEED EXPLICIT CRITERIA FOR THE SELECTION OF CRITERION VARIABLES--PAY OFF POINTS, BOTH THE LONG RANGE OR REMOTE AND THE IMMEDIATE OR DIRECT CRITERION VARIABLES.

We know that what is the present outcome for the culturally deprived child is not what should be. But can we specify what are the desired outcomes of the concerned groups for the intervention program? One goal seems obvious in terms of educational objectives; namely, to turn around the deteriorating processes encountered by the child in school settings and to allow him to enjoy the best of the educational offerings and opportunities. But is this so obvious? What shall we settle for in such a program? What is the criterion variable for the child and for the direct worker, the teacher? As we can see from the following, we can settle for different levels of outcome.

What is the intended outcome or attainment for the child?

lowered rate of failure?	OR	reach the level of the average American child in America, such as it is?	OR	fulfill all of the child's potentials?

What is the intended attainment for the direct worker, the teacher?

attitude change?	OR	more comfortable, more skilled in practices in dealing with child?	OR	high commitment and expertness?	OR	innovative leader in education, in general?

Selection of the level of outcome expected should be explicitly done with clear criteria to be used in assessing the kind of outcome. Among the criteria to be used, we enter a strong plea for a sense of reasonableness of achievement according to the amount of energy and push to the program. In addition to the long range consequences, we should also, it seems to me, study the more direct effects of the program of training. That is, we should assess the more immediate and local effects of the various action steps and consider these as equally valid criterion variables for sub-studies albeit not the ultimate pay offs. The criterion variables about the teacher's behavior should not give way to only criterion variables about the child. We need to string out the sequences of intervening, mediating and intermediate factors in arriving at the consequences of an action program.

PROPOSITION FIVE: NOTATION AND CONCEPT SYSTEMS

THE ACTION PROGRAM AND MORE ESPECIALLY THE RESEARCH DESIGNS WOULD BENEFIT FROM BEING EMBEDDED IN A "SYSTEMS DEVELOPMENT" CHART OF FLOW.

In order to keep track of the multitudinous factors and to make hunches about what is affecting what, the "systems development" notions of the engineering sciences can provide a framework for our use. In this orientation we need to string things and events out in time sequences as heuristic assumptions. That is, we need a model that approximates the way the processes are developing in the programming and in the interventions, in the effects of training teachers and in the effects on children. We need to see the flow of a developing system, with a notation system and a set of concepts so that we know where the research design and efforts stand at any given stage and in terms of a complete job.

In each stage we notate the four elements: (1) "Inputs" by the change agent or other source; (2) "Takes," what inductions penetrate, are allowed in and absorbed; (3) "Effects," the expected and actual immediate effects, or outcomes, the proximal criterion variables; and (4) "Consequences," the long-range, non-immediate and the unanticipated results.

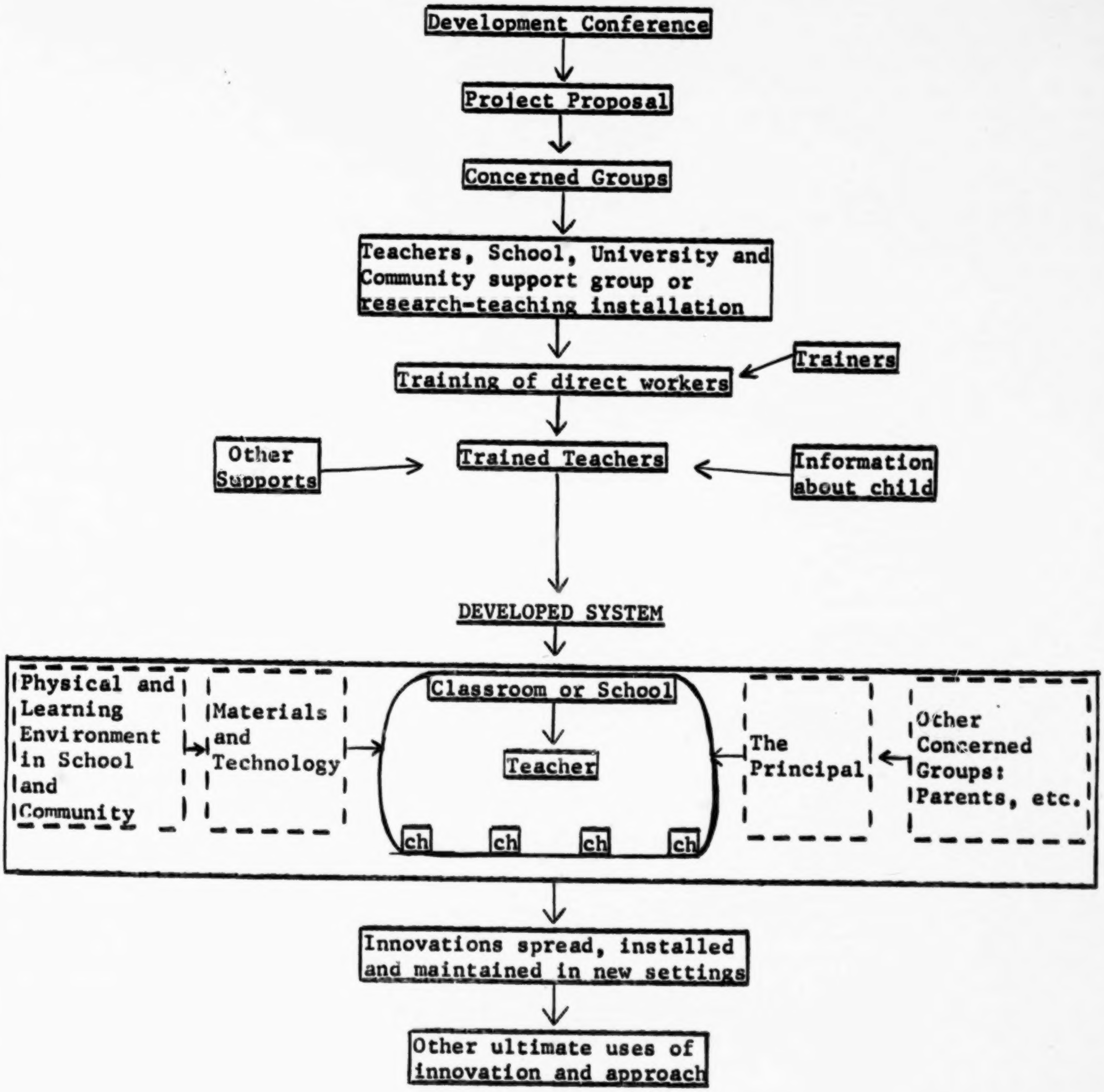
In the idealized model of flow, the effects and consequences become the inputs for the next stage. However, we can expect that the change agent and the project staff intervene additionally and necessarily so. And of course, the inputs do not come only from the local staff and change agents, the various concerned groups are always sources, legitimate ones, for inputs. The evaluation designs must take into account the source of the input as well as the quantity and intensity of it.

"Takes" merely means that we have to check on the receptivity of the inputs. Was the induction successful? Were communications received and heard? Did the recipients take up the procedures as intended? We are suggesting here that many action-training programs have concentrated on input and end-effects without assuring that there were "takes." We cannot affirm "takes" only from the effects, especially if we are still testing the relation between the inputs and the effects. We are mindful that there is a circularity here and that there are methodological difficulties in assessing "takes" separate from effects. The concept of "take," and its assessment, is intended to clarify the process of relationship between the induction and the effect and reduce the variability in the effects.

The model of stages or phases diagrammed on the next page helps me to hold so complex an activity in mind, to arrange the phases in sequence, to ask about the inputs, takes, effects and consequences of activities at each stage and thus to design and assess the activities of the change program. It is my assumption that knowing how the activities succeeded or failed is important too, besides knowing whether the end-consequences were a success or a failure.

Spelling out the "developed system" in the classroom, of teacher-child-child, (a group, not a dyad of two) with its supporting environment, its teaching materials and technologies, its curriculum, its ancillary and concerned groups, can help us make judgments about how to help bring about such a system, what factors are already present to make use of, what resistance may be expected, and so forth.

STAGES OR PHASES IN PROGRAMMING IN INNER CITY


Development Conference
Project Proposal
Concerned Groups
Teachers, School, University and Community support group or research-teaching installation
Trainers
Training of direct workers
Other Supports
Trained Teachers
Information about child
DEVELOPED SYSTEM
Physical and Learning Environment in School and Community
Materials and Technology
Classroom or School
Teacher
ch
ch
ch
ch
The Principal
Other Concerned Groups: Parents, etc.
Innovations spread, installed and maintained in new settings
Other ultimate uses of innovation and approach

The diagram can be used by starting at one stage and working back and forth. From the product design and market research point of view it is more useful to start from the ultimate users and work back to the present. (For the sake of simplicity, we have omitted any notion of looping and feedback circuits in the model.) The model is heuristic and is not necessarily a reflection of how things are or should be. The concepts of linearity, of passive inert substances upon which input is made, and sundry other assumptions violates the realities of the interlocking systems in the school and the community. Also, the problem at hand in the school system is not necessarily one where we start with a clean slate but we need to take a re-training, re-education and change orientation which adds further complexity to the model. Notions of unfreezing, moving and re-freezing an equilibrium of forces at each stage, or overall would be the additional notational systems to use.

PROPOSITION SIX: TYPES OF CHILDREN

FOR BOTH ACTION DESIGN AND FOR EVALUATION RESEARCH DESIGN, WE NEED A MORE DIFFERENTIATED TYPOLOGY OF THE CHILD PRESENTLY LUMPED TOGETHER AS CULTURALLY DEPRIVED, LOWER CLASS, ETC.

Differentiations will have to be made about the main target group of concern, the culturally deprived child. The easiest categorizations to state are in terms of age or school grade. And, of course, evaluation of programs for pre-school to fourth grade will be different from evaluation of programs for the sixth to eighth grades, as program purposes will be quite different.

Let us illustrate the point and a different typology also in this way. Let us arbitrarily set up four classes or types of children as follows:

Type A--children who can and do make use of school learning environment,

Type B--children who can or are just barely learning, but need some boosting, remedial work, special help, etc.,

Type C--children who might but don't,

Type D--children who are tough nuts to crack, some incorrigibles or defectives among them.

There probably are some mental health problems differentially sprinkled in some unknown proportions among the groups.

We shall arbitrarily again set up four grade levels, and obtain a four-by-four table arrangement as follows. If realistically assessed proportions can be obtained, we need to fill in the table on how many, or what proportion of the children called culturally deprived are in each category.

	Pre-School	1st to 4th	5th to 8th	9th to 12th	Later Periods
Type A					
Type B					
Type C					
Type D					

We have no data to present in this paper, nor even rough estimates to use. There does seem to be some assertions that from pre-school on, there is a declining percentage of Group A with an increasing number in Group D. Of course, this crude classification needs to be revised and filled in and to be created by empirical procedures to establish the utility of the typology at each grade level and the trajectories of individuals in moving through the school system. Dropouts will have to be included in the data, also.

Dropouts come from types C and D at any one grade, but the replenishing of the dropout cohort may come not only from Type B but under the circumstances not unusual in Inner City from Type A and B becoming dropout potentials. My way of using this model would be to start off with a cohort of 1,000 at the pre-school age and distribute these 1,000 cases into each of the four behavior types at each age or grade level.

Any action and remedial design and evaluation design would have to take into account whether any given child has been in the same classification across grades, or whether he is a downwards mobile or an upwards mobile in these typologies. It would seem to me that any research evaluation could be confounded without this specification of pattern. And we could load the dice and "guarantee" positive results for a training-action program by loading the sample with Group A type of children with more B's and C's and D's in the non-treated groups, thus the differences between the specially treated and the untreated will be artifactually large and conversely, having many D's in the program can produce the opposite result.

In addition to the proportions of children classified in terms of their career trajectory in school, we would need to construct some sort of typology about the motivational system. First of all, when we say "motivate the child," we should specify some more specific aspects of the motivational system of the children. What are the kinds of achievement motivation we consider to be present or are desirable? And secondly, what is the distribution of these needs among the children in the program, according to age, or according to their type of career in the school?

The main point at hand is the necessity to become more concrete, more specific, and more classificatory about the children in this program and in the evaluation design. Inappropriateness of programming and intervention and artifactual errors of design and sampling can be the results unless adequate concreteness and the requisite pre-measures are achieved.

PROPOSITION SEVEN: PRETESTED INVENTIONS

ANY FACILITY, NEW PROCEDURE, POINT OF VIEW, ETC., TO BE INSTALLED AND TESTED SHOULD HAVE SOME EXPLICITLY PRE-TESTED FACTS OR THEORIES WITH MULTIPLE REPLICATIONS IN A VARIETY OF SETTINGS.

There are two major innovations proposed in the Benne-Birnbaum paper within the framework of the need for developing a set of disciplines about teaching procedures, as compared to the learning procedures: a type of training to help teachers use group methods, and an institutional arrangement.

The training for teachers and direct workers is intended to free them from ordinarily prescribed structures and content and to make them capable to (1) meet the individual as he is in his group structure; (2) make use, with his collaboration, of the needs and relationships of teacher to student and student to student in order to further learning goals of the individuals.

The places where the relevant rationale, practices and implementations have taken shape have been in detached workers for work with street gangs and with the sensitivity training group, T-group. What is the best evaluation for these procedures? Is the following a "fair" summary?

The installation of the group procedures in the T-group and in the detached workers activities does require some struggle in defining the relationships or rather in redefining the leader from the participants points of view. There is evidence that the relationship between the leader (group worker) and the participants in their groups more frequently than not can and does become defined and operative in a mutually satisfying way. There is evidence that there is "take" for many groups and for many individuals within the groups. There is plenty of evidence that individual participants use the groups and the leaders for their own ends. There is more evidence in T-group research than there is in research on detached group worker's groups that group norms and structures are jointly modified for mutually valued ends. Even within the relatively more successful use of group in the T-group, there are tendencies there to conceptualize gains as individual gains rather than group structural gains. The individuals who participate in T-group evaluate it highly and think well of it. From individuals in detached workers groups also, if any generalization is possible, comes more general approval than disapproval.

The most serious question is raised when we look at the behavior of the individuals as they operate outside these direct relationships. The back-home studies of the participants in T-groups does not produce a heartening picture of measurable increased behavioral sensitivity and changed modes of acting. Similarly, the evidence from the inputs of detached workers, at least in one study, is reported as having produced no discernible nor measurable differences in contacts with the courts for offenses. In other words, the sum of evidence on consequences is weaker than for immediate effects. The training field is also using more direct contact of concrete behavioral problems and relationships in training groups which bring in individuals from the work situation. In addition, the concreteness of actions to be taken subsequent to training are increasingly incorporated into the designs of training. Such "family" labs, and accompanying follow-up consultation and support, do produce more behavioral consequences in changed behavior and job functioning.

From the point of view of evaluation research of the new program then, we need to assess these previous findings on the elements that go into the programs' direction of training and work, and be watchful in the evaluation design so as not to expect that which is unattainable nor measurable. In the case of the children, then, we would predict from the previous data along the lines of installing, redefining roles, takes, immediate gains and effects, a relatively easy and successful accomplishment. The transfer of these gains into consequences of behavioral changes and gains in some external criterion is going to be more difficult to achieve.

The creation and use of the teaching-research school has its precedent in the teaching and research hospital. I have not pursued any data on these institutions.

Overview

These propositions are predicted on the collaborative nature of the multiple concerned groups, researchers, practitioners, teachers, administrators, teacher educators, social scientists, community groups and school and other relevant combinations. Research and evaluation may be seen to serve these many groups, while still maintaining its own functions of increasing the fund of evaluated knowledge. The larger context of these efforts is in the long run to contribute to the development of a discipline of knowledge about teaching technologies. The engineering science of teaching is one branch of the growing body of knowledge about bringing about planned change and would be advanced in these action programs if adequate provisions for conceptualizing and researching on the processes at work are made in addition to evaluation of outcome consequences of a program of action.

REPORT OF PLENARY DISCUSSION OF ROBERT CHIN'S PAPER

Numerous problems were identified. There is a critical need for research services to be federated so as to involve representatives from local school systems with those from university centers. Research should be collaborative and derived from sources of input to the system, i.e., practitioners. A triad is necessary:

Teacher Trainer
Researcher — Practitioner

However, status problems arise when researchers evaluate practitioners. Tensions and conflict result. Another problem is the inevitable distortion of practice due to the intrusion of research. To reduce threat evaluation should be of technics and procedures rather than personnel. The involvement of participants in evaluation reduces mistrust and suspicion. A related problem is how to avoid the guinea pig stigma and make discomfort over evaluation functional to subjects. A "comfort index" of positive or negative feeling of competency was proposed as a means of managing or coping with feelings of participants. In past experience adequate training has produced pessimism which in the end has generated a feeling of potency and ability to make desired changes.

The selection of evaluative criteria will affect the apparent outcomes of new procedures. Successful innovations may constitute failure by conventional standards. A proposed program might establish new expectations and standards. It should provide for diagnostic and exploratory research to improve programs, and should differentiate between quantitative and qualitative criteria.

Decisions must be made about how to constitute the experimental efforts so as to determine what different procedures are necessary with different subjects for equivalent consequences and results? There is also the question of how best to describe what was done? This imposes the scientific task of conceptualization and adequate description.

Sub-projects are desirable. They would provide specific contributions to the total picture, and give concrete meaning to behavioral science activities in the several cooperating schools.

There is the question of secrecy. How much of the public should be involved? Premature sharing may produce early severe resistance. Opposition to change may mobilize before the research program can show results. Political traps and obstacles are inevitably encountered. This poses a dilemma of the ethics of a *fait accompli*, the strategy of the benevolent despot. Despite all concerns consensus was that research should err on the side of publicizing the program. Community urgency for action should be utilized.

There is a need to raid each other's files for immediate wider utilization of qualitative as well as quantitative measures. The concept of successful failure was emphasized. Unlike chaotic approaches, intelligent, well-thought out experimentation which does not achieve desired objectives advances the frontiers of educational innovation and knowledge.

SECTION III

SMALL GROUP DISCUSSIONS AND OUTCOMES

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION OF ATLANTA TEAM

Recorded by
Catherine V. Richards

Members of the Atlanta Team:

Eli Bower
Arthur Cohen
Donald R. Green
Neal Gross
Francis Ianni
Donald Klein
John Letson
C. Eric Lincoln
Thomas McAuliffe
Laura Morris
Catherine V. Richards
David Seeley
Edward K. Weaver

1. A Fulbrightlike plan for educational administrators, teachers and university personnel was proposed to encourage the extension of knowledge through complementary or supplemental experience in teaching, administration, and teacher training. Training of administrators and principals would be enhanced through training in other strategic settings, e.g., "culture island" training laboratories.

2. Induction of all staff members in administrative problems through rotation of staff committee chairmanships should be tried on an experimental basis. There needs to be developed a gradual and systematic transition from pre-service, induction and in-service status at all levels.

3. A school sponsored conference should be organized to focus on the significance of the job to be done and the resources needed within and without the system.

4. A five day carefully designed in-service training program should be organized to include staff and other available school system resources. Three possible designs presented were: (1) orienting the system to current problems; (2) training school staff to engage and participate in an experiment; and (3) a feasible combination of 1 and 2.

5. A proposal to make teaching a twelve month job was presented with the summer months being devoted to in-service training in order to facilitate progress toward desired goals of teacher competency in dealing with culturally deprived children. Novice teachers could start in June becoming oriented and adjusted to the system with the help of experienced personnel, as well as learning with them.

6. The three feeder schools (to be engaged in a demonstration in Atlanta) could work on some common problem using various technics; e.g., (1) reading specialists; (2) human relations; and (3) a combination of 1 and 2. Counselors could experiment with group technics.

7. Residential schools which accommodate a rotation of staff and class groups could be set up to increase the sharing of the children's lives with teachers, thereby benefiting both pupils and staff.

8. Utilization of teaching teams in classrooms would provide for development and use of integrative technologies.

9. Home visits by teachers or collaboration with nurses (public health or school), school social workers and community workers on a systematic home visitation plan was proposed.

10. Guidance personnel could provide information to the staff at critical points in pupils' school history: school entry, transition from level to level and at graduation or termination. They would work with pupils and teachers in collaboration not in conflict. They should know the DQ (deprivation quotient) of pupils as well as their IQ's.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION OF BOSTON TEAM

Recorded by
Mona Hull

Members of the Boston Team:

Kenneth Benne
Burton Blatt
Benjamin Brussels
James Cass
Mona Hull
William Ohrenberger
Arthur Pearl
Marguerite Sullivan
Deborah P. Wolfe
Gladys S. Wood

1. It was proposed that the staff for a new school be hired prior to the school's completion in order to provide time for a staff training program and to build a curriculum to meet the community area needs. This, of course, would be subject to school board approval. The new school staff would form a cadre or nucleus of trained people who could later be diffused through the rest of the system.

2. A possible university-public school system collaboration could be set up in student teaching centers in schools or school districts involving a resident supervisor from a university school of education.

3. Saturation of one district with three school adjustment counselors was suggested with a ratio of one counselor to five teachers and with continuing training and consultation with a university.

4. Graduate students could be used in behavioral sciences as members of evaluation teams along with teacher trainers, practitioners, administrators and teachers in laboratory schools. Potential recruitment of educators from other disciplines was also presented. Mutual learning would take place; teachers would learn to evaluate while scientists would learn inner-city reality. This program could be funded from outside the school system, e.g., from a university.

5. Master teachers should receive increased reward, for example, university faculty status and salary.

6. Experimental use of volunteers and sub-professional personnel, juvenile assistants, etc., could be encouraged. The funds for this would be written into the experimental project.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION OF CINCINNATI TEAM

Recorded by
Judith Lang

Members of the Cincinnati Team:

Harry V. Anderson
Max Birnbaum
Helen C. Caskey
Daniel Coughlin
Franklyn Haiman
Lawrence Hawkins
Judith Lang
Walter Miller
Wendell Pierce
Henry Saltzman

1. Machinery is necessary to facilitate a pattern of collaboration between school systems, total university complexes and community agencies. Whether this requires simply two functions or two discrete roles is unclear at this time; i.e., an academician-educator coordinator and a community organization social worker, or one person combining both functions. The academic coordinator's function would be to release the skills and talents of the total university on the problem of public education, specifically teaching in inner-city schools. Projects he should develop include:

   a. Pre-service introduction and orientation to inner-city schools problems and student characteristics prior to student teaching.
   b. Motivation, inducement, and recruitment of suburban and other than lower-class teachers to accept the challenge and rewards of teaching in inner-city schools.
   c. Arrangement for a social or behavioral scientist to be available to each school as a resource person for testing educated "hunches," experimentation, and evaluation.
   d. Provision for support groups for teachers under the guidance of well-trained "teacher guidance" specialists, instituted on an experimental basis. Teachers need to be trained in the use of group skills so they may utilize peer group sharing as a means of supporting learning in the classroom; e.g., a teacher trained in these skills might select reading groups by sociometric technics.
   e. Utilization of medical students interested in pediatrics as teacher aides in classrooms.
   f. Provision of tutoring projects utilizing psychology and sociology majors in helping to build beneficial pupil peer groups.
   g. Coordination of school-university conference initiated by superintendents to explore school and teacher problems and solutions.

   The community organization role would call for assisting principals, as building leaders, to utilize existing special services and community resources more effectively; e.g., identify 6-7 crucial people in the community--social worker, police juvenile officer, clergy, teachers--and arrange semi-monthly meetings, luncheon or otherwise, for the purpose of sharing concerns.

2. Advisory councils composed of representatives from social agencies, mental health boards, higher educational and other community institutions would advise and consent to the performance of the academic coordinator-community organizers.

3. Potential school drop-outs should be selected on an experimental basis to act as aides to classroom teachers, librarians, recreation leaders, etc. The oppor-

tunity to establish a relationship with a professional and possibly to identify with that person, is seen as a factor in developing motivation on the part of these pupils to remain in school.

4. Pre-school, kindergarten and first grade should be the focal area for "crash" programs in order to give young children success experiences and to instill in them the joy of learning.

5. Exploration of feelings, attitudes and values of cooperating teachers is desired, since student teachers learn from them.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION OF DETROIT TEAM

Recorded by
Mary Jane Aschner

Members of the Detroit Team:

Mary Jane Aschner
Samuel Brownell
Jack Childress
Morris Haimowitz
Ronald Lippitt
Catheryn Mahoney
Mildred Peters
Richard Silberstein
Goodwin Watson

1. Disadvantaged schools should be saturated with educational materials which most of them lack.

2. Training programs should be initiated for special volunteers and sub-professionals. They would function in providing aides in nursery school programs, day care centers, to classroom teachers, librarians, recreation leaders, etc.

3. Teachers trained in the use of feedback technics could be provided to get at a child's perception of what is going on in the classroom.

4. Training should be offered for both teachers and children on "self" and other concepts.

5. A proposal was made to promote community involvement, participation and collaboration in the operation of schools. Municipal governments need greater understanding of inner-city school problems since they control the budget. Labor, management, clergy, intellectuals, educators, etc., should be involved in curriculum research, design, implementation, evaluation and diffusion.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION OF LOS ANGELES TEAM

Recorded by
Tamara Guzik

Members of the Los Angeles Team:

Saul Bernstein
Leland Bradford
Robert Chin
Jack P. Crowther
Tamara Guzik
James Hood
Eliot Shapiro
Hilda Taba
Edward Tallman
Howard Wilson

Increased community involvement and collaboration in operation of schools could take place in the following ways:

1. A school sociologist or community worker would interpret the school to parents, help them understand the function of the school, and help school personnel understand community mores.
2. Neighborhood residents could be hired to assist the community worker and act as a family visitor.
3. Home visitations by teachers should be promoted by freeing these teachers from clerical routines.
4. Literacy and parent education programs should be provided.
5. There should be built into the curriculum ways for children to interest their parents in their school work so as to emphasize the significant relations between schools and families, as socialization agents of children.

OUTCOMES OF THE JULY CONFERENCE

Consensus was that a cluster of nascent teams should be created nationally. A consortium, a loose association characterized by sharing resources while maintaining local autonomy, should be established. Common agreement on experimentation would enable replication and facilitate funding. The focus on human relations factors should not exclude concern with teaching technology, structural reorganization, and subject matter. No single institution can cope with the national problem. The consortium will facilitate team effort on national level concerns while maintaining appropriate emphasis on local concerns.

Some objectives of a consortium project are:

1. Alter prestige of teaching in inner-city schools.
2. Develop research and training centers for experimental programs.
3. Foster collaborative relationships between social scientists, teacher educators and teachers.
4. Overcome diffusion problems.

The proposed training centers are not to be laboratory schools with complete programs but rather are intended to relate to different kinds of needs and readiness. A center should follow the Agricultural Extension Service model for testing and diffusion of practices and on location application.

Innovative programs need to operate at the local level of the principal and his staff where school action occurs. Assistance is more valuable when the need is recognized by participants. Therefore, small groups will be encouraged to formulate specific designs for projects. There is a crucial need for the consortium to concentrate on in-service aspects to cope with the current problem. Individual schools have insufficient resources for research, funds and staff; these the consortium can make available. The proposed program statement should allow for a degree of adaptation to local problems and plans as they are developed. Groups must be careful not to overlook the needs of the out-of-school population.

Further work will be needed to develop phases, sequences, and priorities for suggested projects. Principal investigators can prepare their own priority as they see it, but all participants are not committed to this priority. Feedback from participants will be included in the rough draft. A complete history of the conference isn't necessary, rather where do we go from here? a forward looking orientation.

Criteria for participation in the proposal committee were:

1. Geographic representation from each locality
2. Varied disciplines, vocations and functions.

The feeling was that function was more important than geographic representation. The Boston area provides a variety of functions, thus the committee would only need a few members from other areas. The testing and diffusion role person in each geographic area needs to be specified. With respect to proposed projects, conference participants should have first refusal before including new communities, and the present cities are not committed to participate. A question of the receptivity of communities to the program was raised. The reaction was that potential customers are interested and motivated. Again the need for active involvement of the experimental subjects, i.e., participating teachers, in the planning program was emphasized, but this raised the further question of how inclusive can the program be? The basic point is that some organizations primarily identified with the customer populations need to be involved in the identification of problems needing solutions. The proper focus of local innovations and experiments cannot be determined from the top down.

An *ad hoc* group was selected to sketch out further program structure for evaluation by the group.

SECTION IV

PROPOSED EXPERIMENTATION

SEPTEMBER 1964 CONFERENCE
(Follow-up Committee to July Conference)

A follow-up committee met at the Boston University Human Relations Center, September 19 and 20, 1964, to develop a plan for follow-up work in training, consultation and research growing out of the Waltham Conference. The members of this committee were:

Harry Anderson, School of Education, Boston University and Coordinator of Conference Project
Kenneth D. Benne, Human Relations Center, Boston University, co-principal investigator, Conference Project
Max Birnbaum, American Jewish Committee and Boston University, co-principal investigator, Conference Project
Robert Chin, Department of Psychology and Human Relations Center, Boston University
Jack Crowther, Superintendent, Los Angeles City Schools
Charles Ferguson, Graduate Student, Boston University and Coordinator of Conference Reports
Ross Green, School of Education, Emory University
Larry Hawkins, Principal, Cincinnati Public Schools
Judy Hill, Graduate Student, Boston University, Committee Secretary
Don Klein, Human Relations Center, Boston University, co-principal investigator, Conference Project
Mary Martin, Principal, Boston Public Schools
Gladys Wood, Central Office, Boston Public Schools.

Ronald Lippitt, University of Michigan, was invited to attend but was unable to fit the meeting into his schedule. His ideas about proposed follow-up activity were later incorporated into the draft proposal, with the consent of other committee members.

The draft of the plan developed by the committee was circulated to all metropolitan team members and their suggestions for revision, all minor, incorporated in the plan which follows. All replies from metropolitan team members indicated a willingness to work in the proposed experimentation, if and when it is adequately funded.

PROPOSED EXPERIMENTATION WITH TRAINING AND CONSULTATION FOR PERSONS WHO WORK WITH EDUCATIONALLY DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS IN INNER-CITY SCHOOL SETTINGS

BY

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATORS AND FOLLOW-UP
COMMITTEE OF WALTHAM CONFERENCE

I. Statement of the Problem

Within the problem of poverty in the midst of plenty and within the currently deepening tensions in intergroup relations in our society, teachers and other school personnel confront educational situations which their previous training has not equipped them to handle confidently and constructively. The difficulties are most acute in the school systems of large cities. Teachers have typically been trained to employ teaching technologies which assume that children and young people are generally motivated to do well in school. Such motivation has been assumed to stem both from inherent individual student interest in learning what the schools have to offer and from pressures by family and neighborhood sub-culture on students to meet achievement norms set up by schools. Neither of these sources of motivation to achieve in schools can be assumed today with many students from Negro and lower class sub-cultures in large city schools. Teachers frequently confront either sub-culturally reenforced indifference toward school learning or hostility, in varying degree, toward the authority middle class culture and values for which teachers and other school personnel are seen by the students as surrogates. The classroom atmosphere which reenforces the mutually collaborative efforts by teachers and students in achieving student learning is difficult to establish. Under these conditions, schools tend to become custodial or therapeutic rather than educative institutions.

New teaching technologies are required for dealing educatively with the school populations just described. New teaching technologies need to be devised out of existing technologies shaped to the requirements of the "inner-city" situation. And ways of equipping, reenforcing and supporting teachers in institutionalizing and employing these new teaching technologies need to be installed, developed and evaluated in field conditions. The first task is to bring together appropriate resource people to develop the required teaching technologies and to test these in a sampling of representative school systems across the nation.

Promising sources for designing appropriate new teaching technologies are now available within American research and evaluated practical experience. But these sources have not been joined or shaped for use in meeting current teaching difficulties in urban schools. (A "teaching technology," as used here, includes means for diagnosing human and ecological factors in a teaching-learning situation as well as means of sustained teacher interventions to bring these factors into support of desirable learning outcomes.)

a. Evaluated Experiences with "Inner-City" Schooling. Educational personnel in large city school systems have been coping with the conditions already noted and have devised various ways of helping teachers to deal with the motivational difficulties described above. The evaluated experiences of educators from large city school systems and the innovations which teachers have already tested empirically furnish the first essential ingredient for the proposed new technology.

b. Behavioral Science Research. In finding ways in which teachers may more accurately diagnose teaching-learning situations, the most promising tools are to be found in selected findings, models and concepts from behavioral research on small groups, on sub-cultures of social classes and races, on intergroup contact and conflict, on adolescent peer cultures, on urban social structure and dynamics, and on processes of personal and social change. It is not enough for teachers to "learn about" findings, models and concepts from social research. These must be internalized by teachers so that they can be used as tools in diagnosing confronting school and classroom situations and in formulating and testing plans and procedures for teacher-interventions to improve these situations.

c. Teaching and Training Methodologies. Teaching and training methodologies which utilize group development as a way of generating motivation for learning in members seem best calculated to meet the motivational difficulties previously noted as prevailing in many urban classrooms. Such methodologies have been tested and evaluated most extensively in the "laboratory movement" in human relations training--a movement associated with the National Training Laboratories (NTL), National Education Association. NTL experience has been focused largely on human relations problems other than intergroup problems. But its developed methodologies can be and have been adapted to training teachers and others to deal with problems in intergroup relations, as the extensive experience of the Boston University Human Relations Center in its summer laboratories and other programs have demonstrated. In the programs conducted by the Center, special emphasis has been placed on the inter-relationships between intergroup and interpersonal dynamics. Laboratory methodologies offer the most promising resource in training teachers and other school personnel both to clarify their group development in generating student motivation to learn and, with extensions and modifications, in providing "new" models for classroom teaching and learning. But these methodologies must be adapted to the conditions of teacher education and of teaching which prevail in the inner-city schools of urban school systems, particularly conditions in the in-service education of teachers. Resources from teacher education generally, as well as resources from modified laboratory methods in human relations education, must be built into the proposed program.

II. Objectives

An experimental program of teacher education for improvement of teaching and learning in inner city schools should incorporate and serve the following objectives.

1. To develop training and consultation programs in which principals, teachers and other school personnel can learn ways of generating motivation in students to make more effective use of the opportunities afforded by schooling. The training of school personnel should focus on:

   a. Self-investigation by teachers of their own culturally induced values, norms of behavior and attitudes which operate in the classroom to thwart their acceptance and understanding of students with cultural backgrounds different from their own.

b. Ways of using group factors and forces to facilitate student collaboration in learning.
c. Ways of diagnosing the group and inter-group factors in school and classroom situations as these operate to thwart or facilitate collaboration of students in learning.
d. Ways of developing collaborative relationships between teachers and students and between students. This often will mean working through hostilities, tensions and conflicts between teachers and students and within the student groups.
e. Ways of designing teaching technologies to bring group and inter-group factors, where possible, into support of collaborative learning objectives.

2. To bring into close and continuing working relationships the resources of social scientists and teacher educators, based in universities, and the resources of city school personnel in joint study of and experimentation with the improvement of teaching educationally disadvantaged children and young people. This will require the development of local centers of study and experimentation, jointly staffed by university and school personnel.

3. To develop a consortium structure to channel multi-local efforts toward generalizable results and to provide these efforts with the resources of a central staff. The idea for a consortium structure developed at the Waltham Conference (Diagram I to this proposal) was based on the following assumptions:

   a. Participation by a number of city school systems in a multi-local program to improve inner-city schooling is desirable, provided local autonomy can be safeguarded in the program.
   b. Collaboration between school systems and universities in such a program is essential. University resources to be incorporated are resources from teacher education and from the behavioral sciences.
   c. Evaluation research should be built into all aspects of the program.
   d. Research to test hypotheses in a theory of practitioner (teacher) functioning should be incorporated into the program.
   e. Diffusion of results among and within schools should be experimented with and various methods of diffusion tried and evaluated.

4. To plan and test ways of diffusing the results of experimentation within cooperating school systems and among school systems.

5. To develop a plan and design of collaborative evaluation and research which combines the resources of universities and school systems in:

   a. Testing designs and methods of training and consultation for teachers of educationally disadvantaged students
   b. Testing plans and methods for diffusing inventions and findings in educational technology within and among school systems
   c. Testing hypotheses within a theory of teaching.

6. To identify types of auxiliary personnel needed to support and assist teachers and principals in adapting school programs and methods to enlist students in collaborative learning and to work on problems of the training and development of such personnel.

III. Methods and Organization

Any serious work on a problem of the depth and magnitude we are preparing to work with will require several years to reach the point of confidently generalizable results. Time will be required both to develop and test the technologies needed and to develop the cooperative relationships between universities and school systems and the cooperative relationships between local centers which valid generalizations of findings will require. Detailed designs for training, consultation, evaluation and research consistent with the above objectives will require planning and developmental activities by a central project staff, by local school and university coordinators, with the guidance of a representative committee from cooperating school systems and universities, over a period of a year and a half before fully launching a concerted program with from four to seven experimental centers.

We propose a preliminary phase of work to accomplish such planning and developmental activities as well as to provide training of personnel which is valuable in its own right. This phase will include the conducting and evaluation of trial-run training and follow-up activities. Before turning to detailed proposals for this preliminary phase, it may be well to envisage the flow of activities which developing a collaborative multi-local program will entail, insofar as these can be envisaged now.

1. Agreement by four to seven "local groups" to participate in the program. Each "local group" will typically consist of personnel from a city school system, personnel from a neighboring teacher-education institution, and personnel from a neighboring university center with social science resources.

2. Preliminary designing of training, consultation, evaluation and research activities, on a trans-local basis, with full allowance for adaptation of designs to local conditions, interests, and needs. (A consortium structure of the general sort outlined in Diagram I to this proposal will be required to carry out the plan.)

3. Training of principals from all participating school systems in a trans-local laboratory-workshop of eight weeks duration during a summer period. Principals will be chosen by local school systems in collaboration with local university consultants, in terms of their own plans for single- or multiple-school building participation in the program and in keeping with the requirements of the trans-local plan already developed in stage two. The staff for planning, conducting and evaluating this training will be a nation-wide staff drawn from each and all of the local participating groups. The latter part of this laboratory workshop will be devoted to planning for programs of in-service education of teachers to be conducted in local situations.

4. Training of teachers from all participating schools in local laboratory-workshops. The staff will consist largely of local university personnel and school personnel already trained. Detailed plans for follow-up work and consultation should be made at these workshops. Principals, already trained, and their administrators, should be brought in to test and confirm this planning. Teachers from neighboring school systems might be brought into the training as part of a plan for diffusion of results and for stimulating wider participation in consortium activities.

5. Launching of local experimental programs with consultation and evaluation research built in.

6. Coordination and communication between local projects will be conducted through conferences, seminars, personnel exchange, publications, correspondence, etc.

7. Plans for diffusion of tested results from experimentation to other parts of the school system not in the experimental program and/or to other school systems will be made, tested and evaluated before the termination of the project.

The initial experimental effort is here conceived as primarily an in-service training and consultation program. Participation in experimental school centers may also be utilized as part of pre-service programs of teacher education by cooperating universities and colleges, if this seems a good idea locally or nationally.

Various kinds of supporting and auxiliary personnel will probably be needed to help local school systems cope adequately with their inner-city problems. Specifically, community adult educators, community trouble shooters and teacher-counseling personnel are possibly needed roles. Projects for studying and evaluating these roles as they now function, for redefining these or other roles, and for experimental training of people for these roles may be developed by a consortium or by local universities and school systems in the course of the program.

IV. Proposal of a Preliminary Planning, Developmental and Trial-Run Phase of the Larger Program

A. Why a Preliminary Phase Should be Funded and Undertaken Initially

The proposed first stage is conceived as a valuable project in its own right and as a laying of foundations for a larger, full scale program of experimentation, if this seems indicated at the end of the first phase. We propose this first stage as an initial step for the following reasons.

1. It would not be prudent to commit the full cooperative effort, the resources of school systems and universities, and extensive funds from various funding sources without testing the "workability" of the general proposal beyond the testing which our conferencing to date had been able to provide.

2. The distillation of relevant knowledges, skills and experiences from the experiences of city school personnel, from teacher education and from the behavioral sciences needs to be well done, if the larger program is to have a chance at success. We all agree on the relevance and importance of these contributory resources. We have not yet worked through to full agreement on what precise resources are most crucial in relation to our objectives.

3. Human relations training by laboratory methods is relatively unfamiliar to many people who will be assuming responsibility in the larger program. Time must be provided for the familiarization of these persons with laboratory experiences, designs and methods.

4. Workable and valid designs of training, consultation and research cannot be hurriedly accomplished. They must be worked out in relation to each other. Needs of local school situations and of the over-all program must be reconciled in developing these designs.

5. The proposed larger program requires local autonomy, close collaboration between local centers, and central staff operations. Working out such a pattern requires continuing collaborative face-to-face relationships between the personnel involved. These relationships need to be built into the plan for the preliminary design.

6. In addition to the working out of local and central collaborative patterns, collaboration will need to be accomplished locally between school personnel, teacher educators and behavioral scientists and across school-university lines. Previous experiences with building cross-disciplinary and cross-professional teams indicate that time and effort need to be expended in team building. Some previous efforts to develop major inter-city and inter-university programs of work in improving public education have failed to accomplish continuing relationships and marked productivity, despite initial enthusiasm. Their failure may have been due to lack of time and effort devoted to building team relationships and to failure to permit voluntary withdrawal of any party after a trial period of collaboration without loss of face and without rancor concerning broken commitments.

B. Objectives of the Preliminary Phase

In the proposed first phase we would seek:

a. To develop a detailed plan for a larger effort--a plan that emerges from the cooperating groups and is compatible with local and central needs and requirements
b. To help participating groups distill the knowledges, skills, and experiences from the several disciplines involved
c. To specify the relevance, translatability, and transferability of knowledge about change and changing in industry and other organizational systems, as well as in various types of community settings, to changes in educational settings
d. To create a training program design for teachers and to find ways of relating teachers' learnings from this program to direct work with children
e. To carry out similar assessments for the creation of suitable modes of consultation and support following training for those working with children in inner-city schools
f. To develop and pre-test procedures, designs, and relevant instruments for evaluation research and for relevant research on teaching
g. To develop a policy steering committee to work cooperatively with a staff, both centrally and locally
h. To foster the conditions within which productive collaboration and involvement of school systems and university personnel in the continuing program will be made possible
i. To lay the groundwork for diffusion of the program's findings and ways of working into other systems not in the original plan, as well as into other segments of the cooperating systems
j. To carry out a pilot training, consultation and evaluation project with personnel drawn from cooperating school systems, in order to meet some

immediate and pressing needs for training in these systems and to provide a basis for revision of designs for wider testing.

Tasks to be Accomplished During the Proposed First Phase

1. The Central Staff, with the assistance of the local coordinators, and guided by a representative Policy-Advisory Committee to be organized, will develop designs for training, consultation and relevant research. This design-development will require consultation with staff members of cooperating school systems and universities, library research and field testing.

2. As many of these designs as practical will be tested in a pilot training program during the first phase. Participants in this training will be drawn from each and all of the cooperating school systems--approximately ten from each system. Participants will be chosen, insofar as possible, to meet two sets of criteria:

   a. The needs of the local school system for personnel trained in the area of project concern
   b. The requirements of the program for a defensible testing of designs with various classes and kinds of school personnel.

   The pilot training program will be two weeks in duration. One week will be in a program conducted for all fifty participants at a residential center. The second week will be offered locally to the ten local participants after an appropriate lapse of time.

   Consultation will be provided for participants after training to test consultation formats and designs.

   Evaluation designs will be tested with participants both in and following training to furnish data concerning the effects of the training and to provide evidence for needed changes in training, consultation and evaluation designs.

3. The central staff and the local coordinating staff will revise designs in the light of experience with the pilot program.

4. Provision will be made for training of pilot program staff, central and local, who require familiarization with laboratory methods of human relations education. This will be accomplished both through funding their participation in a laboratory-workshop training experience and through training provided by the principal investigators in preparation for training roles in the project. Such training should be provided prior to their service on the pilot training staff.

5. The Central Staff will prepare plans and proposals for a full-scale program and seek funding for this program if they are so advised by the Policy-Advisory Committee, in light of experience with the first phase.

Organization for First Phase of Program

1. Policy-Advisory Committee

a. Functions. This group will establish criteria for the expenditure of project funds, other than funds for usual overhead to Boston University, where the central staff will be based, will work out and approve job descriptions for project staff, will approve or disapprove inclusion of new school systems or universities seeking to join the consortium, will serve as liaison between the central staff and local members of the consortium, and will help to guide the planning and developmental activities of the project staff, central and local.

b. Composition. The Policy-Advisory Committee will include 20 members, distributed as follows:
   (1) School system members (5): Superintendents of Atlanta, Boston Cincinnati, Detroit, and Los Angeles
   (2) University members (5): One university person from each of the five cooperating centers
   (3) Principal Investigators (3)
   (4) Supplementary members (7): Persons to be included because of needed skills and experience. These persons may be drawn from university and/or school system personnel.

c. An interim committee of five members will act for the Advisory Committee between its meetings.

d. Expenses. All travel expenses of committee personnel for meetings will be paid out of project funds.

2. Project Staff

The project staff will consist of a central staff and five local staffs.

a. The central staff will consist of two full-time professional members, two or more graduate assistants employed on a part-time basis, and a secretary. One of the professional members will be designated project director.

   The professional members should, between them, combine adequate skills and competence in:
   (1) Developing training and consultation designs
   (2) Developing evaluation and research designs
   (3) Administering projects
   (4) Establishing and maintaining liaison with school systems and universities.

   The professional staff members will require considerable maturity in their professional work. This will probably require hiring them on leave from their regular employment.

b. The local staff will consist of a local-project coordinator in each school system and a local-project coordinator in each cooperating university. Each will work on a part-time basis--the proportion of time for project use will be determined by the Policy-Advisory Committee in light of project needs and available budget funds.

3. Pilot Training Staff

The pilot training program should be deliberately overstaffed to facilitate liaison and collaboration among the central staff and representatives of cooperating universities and school systems in continuing training and consultation in the on-going full-scale program. The staff will consist of the principal investigators, the central staff, at least one faculty member from each cooperating university, and the local coordinator from each school system.

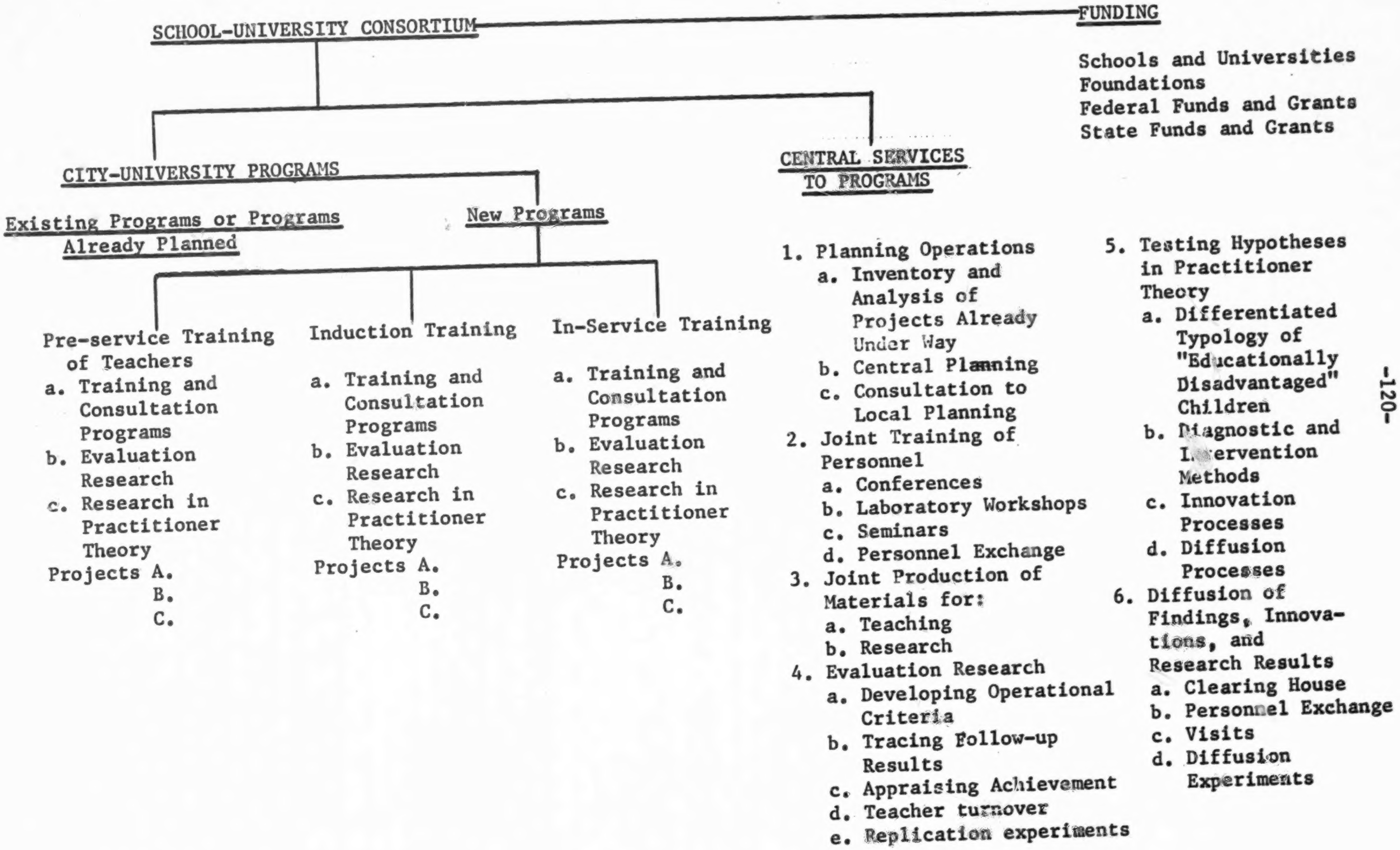
A stipend for staff members not otherwise paid out of project funds and travel and living expenses for all staff members during planning and review meetings and during the term of the training will be paid out of project funds.

4. Pilot Consultation and Evaluation Staff
   Local consultation to trainees following training will be provided by the local project coordinators in each school system and in each cooperating university.

   Evaluation will be staffed by the central staff and by local help as required by the evaluation design.

DIAGRAM I

PROPOSED CONSORTIUM STRUCTURE FOR A PROGRAM TO IMPROVE HUMAN FACTORS IN TEACHING IN INNER-CITY SCHOOLS


SCHOOL-UNIVERSITY CONSORTIUM
FUNDING
Schools and Universities
Foundations
Federal Funds and Grants
State Funds and Grants
CITY-UNIVERSITY PROGRAMS
CENTRAL SERVICES TO PROGRAMS
Existing Programs or Programs Already Planned
New Programs
Pre-service Training of Teachers
a. Training and Consultation Programs
b. Evaluation Research
c. Research in Practitioner Theory
Projects A.
B.
C.
Induction Training
a. Training and Consultation Programs
b. Evaluation Research
c. Research in Practitioner Theory
Projects A.
B.
C.
In-Service Training
a. Training and Consultation Programs
b. Evaluation Research
c. Research in Practitioner Theory
Projects A.
B.
C.
1. Planning Operations
a. Inventory and Analysis of Projects Already Under Way
b. Central Planning
c. Consultation to Local Planning
2. Joint Training of Personnel
a. Conferences
b. Laboratory Workshops
c. Seminars
d. Personnel Exchange
3. Joint Production of Materials for:
a. Teaching
b. Research
4. Evaluation Research
a. Developing Operational Criteria
b. Tracing Follow-up Results
c. Appraising Achievement
d. Teacher turnover
e. Replication experiments
5. Testing Hypotheses in Practitioner Theory
a. Differentiated Typology of "Educationally Disadvantaged" Children
b. Diagnostic and Intervention Methods
c. Innovation Processes
d. Diffusion Processes
6. Diffusion of Findings, Innovations, and Research Results
a. Clearing House
b. Personnel Exchange
c. Visits
d. Diffusion Experiments

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

PROJECT # F-030

DEVELOPMENTAL ACTIVITIES PROGRAM

Submitted to the U. S. Commissioner of Education

Under the Provisions of Public Law 531

Project Title: Conference on training programs for personnel who work with educationally disadvantaged students.

Submitted by: Human Relations Center, Boston University, 270 Bay State Road, Boston 15, Massachusetts

Initiated by: Kenneth D. Benne, Program Coordinator, HRC
262-4300, Extension 520

Donald C. Klein, Administrative Director, HRC
262-4300, Extension 520

Max Birnbaum, Educational Consultant
American Jewish Committee, Staff member, HRC
B. U. Summer Laboratories, 1953-63.

Transmitted by: Kurt Herzfeld, Vice President for Administrative Affairs, Boston University

Date Transmitted: November 6, 1963

Date Revised: January 15, 1964

1. Abstract

A developmental conference to evaluate and evolve programs for training school personnel in dealing educatively with lower class populations (Negro and White) in large city school systems.

Objective

The conference will bring together thirty persons drawn from the social sciences, laboratory and workshop training staffs, the superintendents of seven large city school systems and representatives of teacher education. Its purposes are to join these necessary resources: a) in probing and clarifying the problems of teaching in inner city schools in which Negro-White and lower-middle class tensions are prominent; b) in evaluating group training methods as ways of educating teachers and others to cope with these problems; c) in sketching the outlines of needed new teaching technologies which will use learning groups productively; and d) in formulating plans for large-scale testing of the teaching technologies developed at the conference for use in field settings throughout the nation.

Procedures

The conference project will require six months for its three phases: a) preparation, b) conference, and c) follow-up.

a. In its preparation phase of about three months, five sets of working papers will be commissioned and written. These papers will be addressed both to the diagnosis and treatment of the problems under conference consideration.

The thirty participants will be recruited to obtain a balance between the following resources: social science competences; laboratory training competences; competences in teacher education; and administrators and teachers from large city school systems. Twenty-one participants will be recruited to provide seven potential geographical "teams" of three for work on possible implementation of plans developed by the conference. Each "team" will consist of the superintendent from a large city school system, a social scientist from an adjacent center of research and a teacher educator from an adjacent center for teacher education. The seven teams will be recruited from various parts of the nation, north and south.

b. The conference, four days in length, will take place in a residential setting at the Boston University Conference Center, North Andover, Massachusetts. The format will be a working conference, using discussions of working papers to diagnose the problem and to test various solutions. Conferences will sketch out plans for appropriate new teaching technologies and for large-scale field testing and evaluation of these in school systems. Representatives of fund sources will be invited to join the conference as observers.

c. During the follow-up phase of two and a half months, a committee of participants and the principal investigators will summarize conference findings for wider publication and will draw up proposals for large-scale field testing programs to be submitted to various fund sources for financial support.

2. Description of Activity

Within the currently deepening tensions in intergroup relations in our society--Negro and White, lower class and middle class--teachers and other school personnel confront educational situations which their previous training has not equipped them to handle confidently and constructively. The difficulties are most acute in the school systems of large cities. Teachers have typically been trained to employ teaching technologies which assume that children and young people are generally motivated to do well in school. Such motivation has been assumed to stem both from inherent individual student interest in learning what the schools have to offer and from family and sub-culture pressures on students to meet the achievement norms set up by schools. Neither of these sources of externally induced motivation to achieve in schools can be assumed today with students from Negro and lower class sub-cultures in large city schools. Teachers confront in many students either sub-culturally re-enforced indifference toward school learning or hostility, in varying degree, toward middle class culture and values for which teachers, white or black, are seen by students as surrogates. Under these conditions, schools tend to become custodial or therapeutic rather than educational institutions.

New teaching technologies are required for dealing educatively with these "new" school populations. And ways of equipping and re-enforcing teachers in institutionalizing and employing these new teaching technologies need to be installed, developed and evaluated in field conditions. The first task is to bring together appropriate resource people to sketch the outlines of the required teaching technology and to develop plans for large-scale testing of the technology in appropriate school systems. A developmental conference seems to be the format best fitted to accomplish this first task.

Promising sources for designing an appropriate new teaching technology are now available within American research and evaluated practical experience. But, these sources have not been joined or shaped for use in meeting current teaching difficulties in urban schools. (A teaching technology includes means for diagnosing the human and ecological factors in a teaching-learning situation as well as means of teacher intervention to bring these factors into support of desirable learning outcomes.)

a. Social Science Research: In diagnosing teaching-learning situations, the most promising tools are furnished by selected findings, models and concepts from research on small groups, on sub-cultures of social classes and races, on intergroup contact and conflict, on adolescent peer cultures, on urban social structure and dynamics, and on processes of personal and social change. It is not enough for teachers to "learn about" models and concepts from research. The latter must be internalized by teachers so as to be used as tools in diagnosing confronting situations and in formulating and testing plans and procedures for teacher-intervention.

b. Teaching and Training Methodologies. Teaching and training methodologies which utilize group development as a way of generating motivation for learning in members seem best calculated to meet the motivation difficulties previously noted as prevailing in many urban classrooms. Such methodologies have been tested and evaluated most extensively in the "laboratory movement" in human relations training--a movement associated with the National Training Laboratories (NTL), National Education Association. NTL experience has been focused largely on human relations problems other than intergroup problems. But its developed methodologies can be and have been adapted to training teachers and others to deal with problems in intergroup relations, as the extensive experience of the Boston University Human Relations Center in its summer laboratories and other programs has demonstrated. In the programs conducted by the Center, special emphases have been placed on the inter-relationship of intergroup and interpersonal dynamics.

Laboratory methodologies offer the most promising resource both in training teachers to clarify their own feelings, attitudes and behaviors, and utilize the skills of group development in generating student motivation to learn and, with modifications, in providing models for classroom teaching and learning. But, these methodologies must be adapted to the conditions of teacher education and of teaching which prevail in the inner-city schools of urban school systems, particularly conditions in the in-service education of teachers. Resources from teacher education generally, as well as resources from the modified laboratory movement in human relations training, must be built into the proposed developmental conference.

c. Evaluated Experience with "Inner City" Schooling. Educational personnel in large cities have been coping with the conditions already noted and have devised various ways of helping teachers to deal with the motivational difficulties described above. Such evaluated experiences of educators from large city school systems furnish the third essential ingredient for the proposed conference.

While the focus of the conference is upon teacher technology, it is recognized that the use and testing of such a technology will require re-enforcement and facilitation from personnel outside classrooms in its installation, use and evaluation in school systems. The conference will, therefore, give attention to training the teachers and others to understand and utilize the roles and processes ancillary to the teaching roles and processes which will be required to accomplish this needed re-enforcement and facilitation in school settings.

In brief, the activity proposed is a developmental conference of resource people from the social sciences, from the laboratory movement in human relations education, from teacher education and from the educational leadership of large city school systems now grappling with problems created by Negro-White and lower-middle class encounters and tensions. The task of the conference is to shape the outlines of new teaching technologies for dealing educatively with these encounters and tensions in school situations and to formulate plans for testing and developing these technologies in field settings in the schools.

3. Related Literature

There is no one body of literature on research or on educational technology which supports the new construction that is the focus of this project. Indeed, if there were, there would not be the same kind of urgency in the notion of developing novel training programs for teachers and other school personnel. A fruitful approach will be to indicate some of the pertinent kinds of literature that need to be brought to bear on the problem of the conference. We shall cite only illustrative studies and not try to review the entire literature.

Attention to the social problem which prompts the conference has been focused by writers describing conditions in inner-city schools and by social scientists and social observers who have studied various aspects of urban "community" life. Some of these writers point to distinctive cultural characteristics of lower class and minority groups, while others point to the disintegration of overall norms and value systems in complex urbanized communities, a disintegration of which Negro and lower-class children and young people become the focal victims. In any case, they agree that there has been an increasing separation of the values and motivations of children and young people from those instrumental values and social needs which provide cohesion and open avenues of opportunity for participation in the major structures of American society, including its educational institutions. The eclipse of community, and diagnoses of distinctive lower class values, and shifting patterns of socialization in urban society have been brought forcibly to the attention of both researchers and "caretakers" of community life.

From the rather large literature on social class and education, the summary volume by Kvaraceus and Miller (7) offers one of the best brief treatments of the dissonances between school culture and lower-class culture and of the problems created for schools and for lower-class children and young people by these dissonances. Although their thinking is developed in the special context of delinquent behavior many of its generalizations are pertinent to the behavioral difficulties of non-delinquents as well. Within this larger frame of reference, one empirical study may be cited.

Deutsch (6) has suggested from study of Negro children and white children of lower-class status that there are important relationships between "social, personality and school achievement factors." His results are complex, since he sought to study many variables in their interrelationships. He reports using direct class room observations and a "teachers' seminar" which was cathartic and supportive to the teachers of these children. After reporting anecdotal material from these seminars, he concludes: "Perhaps if schools were to establish such seminars, using for leaders behavioral scientists unconnected with the school system, it would help teachers better to evaluate and understand their roles, and to orient educational materials in a more meaningful context for the lower class child." (p. 26) "Special training in group processes and on the effects of social deprivation might be helpful for teachers in these schools. These children require considerable more re-enforcement than do others, possibly because absent, missing and excessively burdened parents cannot supply it." (p. 27)

Related to one of the possibilities raised in this project is the way in which a sub-culture of youth and children can be used to thwart or to serve educational objectives. As one illustration of many analyses of youth cultures, we cite Coleman (5) in his analyses of interrelations between youth culture and the academic achievement of students. His proposal that there be instituted procedures for mid-western youth to bring glory to the school by academic competition comparable to athletic competition is premised on the use of developed peer group norms in the service of educational and learning objectives.

In comparative studies, we find that the Soviet method of character education in the school context places major emphasis on the "peer collective." "The peer collective (under adult leadership) rivals and early surpasses the family as the principal agent of socialization." "Competition between groups is utilized as the principal mechanism for motivating achievement of behavior norms." Bronfenbrenner (4) (pp. 2-51). Without endorsing all of these methods and their modes of instilling discipline, we cite this report to indicate the possibilities of developing group norms in the classroom to offset missing or dysfunctional norms in the family system. Studies of collectives in other cultural contexts, such as the Israeli Kibbutz, tend to show an emphasis on the youth group as a referent point for self-evaluation of behavior and as a source of motivation for achieving group and individual learning goals. Modifications of the philosophy and technology of group methods for use in the classroom must be made to bring them into line with the values of American democratic society.

Among the most important constructions and evaluations of methodologies for using groups for educative purposes under the guidance of democratic norms are those developed by the National Training Laboratories, at Boston University, and elsewhere. We may point also to intergroup relations workshops such as that developed in the past at Rutgers University. A recent symposium volume (3) edited by Bradford, Gibb and Benne offers a rounded account of the current status of theory in laboratory training as a means of generating motivation for learning and a means of self-directed behavioral change. In this volume, Stock summarizes all significant research on training groups and laboratory methods of training, and Miles treats the problems of adapting training group methodologies for classroom use. A paper by Benne (1) describes the adaptation of group methods for re-education of intergroup attitudes and relationships.

Since the programs to be discussed in the proposed conference are designed not alone to effect changes in individual behavior, but institutional changes in school practice as well, the literature of planned social change is highly pertinent to its deliberations. The pioneer analysis of research and practice by Lippitt, Watson and Westley (8) provides many partly tested hypotheses concerning the functioning of outside change agents (trainers, consultants, applied researchers) in processes of planned change. The readings compiled by Bennis, Benne and Chin (2) provide further concepts and models pertinent to the functioning of change agents, both from outside and from inside the social system to be changed. These concepts are drawn from a wide range of research and evaluated experience in various behavioral disciplines and professions of social practice.

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3. Bradford, L.P., Gibb, Jack and Benne, Kenneth D., T-Group Theory and Laboratory Method, New York: Wiley, 1963.
4. Bronfenbrenner, Urie, "Soviet Methods of Character Education: Some Implications for Research," in Research Supplement to Religious Education, July-August 1962, pp. 45-61.
5. Coleman, James S., "The Adolescent Sub-Culture and Academic Achievement," American Journal of Sociology, 1960, No. 65, pp. 337-347, also Adolescent Society, Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1961.
6. Deutsch, Martin, "Minority Group and Class Status as Related to Social and Personality Factors in Scholastic Achievement," Monograph No. 2, 1960. Society for Applied Anthropology.
7. Kvaraceus, William C., Miller, Walter B. and others, Delinquent Behavior, Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1959, Vol. 1, "Culture and the Individual."

8. Lippitt, Ronald, Watson, Heanne and Westley, B., The Dynamics of Planned Change, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1958.

4. Objectives

The objectives of the proposed developmental conference which brings together resource people from the social sciences, from teacher education and from the educational leadership of large urban school systems, may be summarized in the following way:

a. To study the problems of teaching in urban schools which are now confronting the mounting tensions associated with Negro-White and lower-middle class relationships.

b. To evaluate laboratory training methodologies as possible ways of training teachers to cope with these problems constructively and of suggesting models for classroom teaching-learning in such school situations.

c. To sketch the outlines of new teaching technologies required by these teaching problems.

d. To formulate plans for large-scale field-testing of ways of educating teachers and others in the use and development of these new technologies and of installing and evaluating their use in urban school systems. (Such a program will require the collaboration of social science research centers, centers of teacher education and urban school systems in various parts of the country.)

5. Procedures

This developmental conference falls into three phases.

a. Preparation phase. During this phase of approximately three months, conference participants will be recruited from each of the four resource areas already noted--the social sciences, laboratory training, teacher education, and educational leadership of urban school systems. It is planned to recruit the superintendents or their deputies from seven city school systems, north and south, now coping with class and race problems of the kind described. Where practicable, a social scientist from a research center near each participating school system will also be recruited, along with a teacher educator from an adjacent center for teacher education. Geographically, the core membership of the conference will, therefore, consist of approximately seven three-man "teams." This membership will include many of the resources needed for conference deliberations. It will be supplemented by about nine other poeple (a total of approximately 30) to provide balanced specialist resources for the conference in urban sociology and anthropology, laboratory training, social psychology, social psychiatry, teacher education, intergroup relations, social stratification, problems of inner-city schooling from a teachers point of view, and evaluation research. In addition, four or five observers from various funding sources concerned with educational development and research will be invited to the conference.

Five sets of papers will be prepared and distributed prior to the conference One paper (or more if needed) will be prepared in each of the following five areas: 1) dynamics of intergroup encounters in educational settings; 2) dynamics of teacher-student relationships in urban schools and classrooms; 3) adaptations of the group and laboratory method for educating urban teachers; 4) adaptations of laboratory method for classroom work with lower-class and Negro populations of students; 5) designs for a large-scale installation and testing of new teaching technologies in urban school systems.

b. Conference Phase. The invited participants will meet for four days in a residential setting. Their task will be to assess the diagnoses of the teaching situations probed in some papers and to assess the plans for meeting these diagnosed problems proposed in other papers. The papers will be working tools for the conference membership, although it is hoped that some may merit wider publication. The conference is, however, a working conference. And its major product will be a plan for proceeding further in demonstration and action projects in the field and in rigorous evaluation of these proposed projects. Models for demonstration projects developed in the conference will be concerned with plans for training teachers, plans for follow-up work with teachers in translating their training into changed classroom and school practices, and plans for evaluation of changes effected.

c. Follow-Up Phase. Selected conference participants, along with the conference secretariat, will work after the conference in summarizing conference findings for wider publication and in designing proposals for demonstration projects, consistent with conference recommendations, to be presented to various funding sources for financial support.

6. Personnel

There are three principal investigators for this Conference Project. Kenneth D. Benne, Program Coordinator of the Human Relations Center, , and Theodore W. Berenson Professor of Human Relations, was one of the founders of the laboratory training movement (NTL), which has developed and refined group training methods and which has engaged in evaluation research of these methods for a variety of populations and in various practice settings. His professional interest in the field of education, and especially the philosophy of education, has led him into extensive work in training school personnel and in using training and consultation methods in effecting organizational changes in school systems. His writings include extensive work on the problems and processes of bringing about planned personal and social change in a variety of practice settings.

Donald C. Klein, Director of the Human Relations Center, was for several years Director of the Wellesley Human Relations Service which focused on the improvement of community mental health. In this and in other settings, he has worked with the consultation process in helping teachers and other school personnel to diagnose and improve the mental health of classrooms and other school arrangements. He has conducted group training in a number of settings, including laboratories for teachers and school personnel. His basic training is in clinical psychology. His specialization is community mental health.

Max Birnbaum, Educational Consultant of the American Jewish Committee, has had extensive experience in school systems of various sorts. In connection with his work, he has helped school systems to focus on their problems in intergroup and community relations. He has conducted training in laboratory settings at Boston University, Bethel, Maine, and in the Rutgers Workshop in Intergroup Relations which he helped to found. His basic training is in sociology and history.

7. Facilities

The Human Relations Center of Boston University has had extensive experience in organizing and conducting cross-disciplinary conferences. It has access to the Boston University Conference Center at North Andover, Massachusetts, an ideal "rural" setting for residential conferences.

The program of the Center has focused, in some of its aspects, on the development of methods of group training, consultation and applied research as instruments of planned change in various institutional settings. It has had a special interest in adapting laboratory training to problems of re-education in intergroup relations.

The staff of the center, including the three principal investigators, have had close working relationships with school superintendents, social scientists, laboratory trainers and teacher educators across the nation. This should facilitate recruitment of a high level of personnel for the proposed conference.

8. Other Information

The American Jewish Commiteee will pay the salary of Max Birnbaum during the time of his participation in this Conference Project. It is hoped that school superintendents will be able to pay their travel expense and board and room at the Conference. Since no participant will be paid for attending the Conference, in effect their institutions will be paying their salaries for this period.

This proposal is not a continuation of any project funded by the Office of Education and has not previously been submitted to any funding source, including the Office of Education.

APPENDIX B

INNER-CITY SCHOOL CONFERENCE
JULY 16 - 19, 1964
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APPENDIX C

DEVELOPMENTAL ACTIVITIES PROGRAM
INNER-CITIES SCHOOL PROJECT
DEVELOPMENTAL CONFERENCE

JULY 15-19, 1964

WALTHAM CHARTER HOUSE

WALTHAM, MASSACHUSETTS

CONFERENCE SCHEDULE

July 15:	5:00 p.m.	Dinner Recorders' Session, Outline of Conference Proceedings
	8:30 p.m.	Reception: Terrace Room
July 16:	9:00 a.m.	Plenary Session: (Benne, Chairman) President Case, Greetings Benne, Overview of the Conference Goodwin Watson, "The Enlarging Function of the School with Respect to the Disadvantaged" Discussion
	10:30 a.m.	Coffee
	10:45 a.m.	Working Groups
	12:00 noon	Lunch
	1:30 p.m.	Working Groups
	2:30 p.m.	Coffee
	3:00 p.m.	Plenary Session: (Benne, Chairman) Recorders' Reports Panel: (Klein, Chairman) Burton Blatt, "Educating Intelligence: A Study in the Prevention of Mental Retardation" Arthur Pearl, "The Life Space of the Disadvantaged Person" Discussion
	5:00 p.m.	Free Time
	6:30 p.m.	Dinner
	8:00 p.m.	Working Groups

July 17:	9:00 a.m.	Working Groups
	10:00 a.m.	Coffee
	10:30 a.m.	Plenary Session: (Klein and Birnbaum, Chairmen) Recorders' Reports Ronald Lippitt, "The Youth Culture, The School System, and the Socialization Community" Discussion
	12:00 noon	Lunch
	1:30 p.m.	Working Groups
	3:00 p.m.	Coffee
	3:30 p.m.	Plenary Session: (Birnbaum, Chairman) Recorders' Reports Discussion
	4:00 p.m.	Free Time
	6:00 p.m.	Dinner
	7:30 p.m.	Plenary Session: (Birnbaum, Chairman) Neal Gross, "Some Research Findings of the National Principalship Study and Their Implications for Educational Change" Hilda Taba, "Teaching Strategies" Discussion
July 18:	9:00 a.m.	Working Groups
	10:45 a.m.	Coffee
	11:15 a.m.	Plenary Session: (Birnbaum, Chairman) Recorders' Reports Discussion
	12:00 noon	Lunch
	1:30 p.m.	Plenary Session: (Anderson, Chairman) Kenneth Benne and Max Birnbaum, (Joint Paper) "Proposals for the Education of School Personnel for Work with Inner-City Situations" Discussion
	2:30 p.m.	Coffee
	3:15 p.m.	Working Groups
	5:00 p.m.	Free Time
	6:00 p.m.	Dinner
	10:00 p.m.	Open House

July 19:	9:00 a.m.	Plenary Session: (Benne and Birnbaum, Chairmen) Recorders' Reports Robert Chin, "Issues to Consider in Evaluation and Research Designs for Inner-City Programs" Discussion
	10:30 a.m.	Coffee
	11:00 a.m.	Working Groups
	12:00 noon	Lunch
	1:30 p.m.	Plenary Session: (Birnbaum, Chairman) Conclusion Recorders' Reports Kenneth Benne, Summary
	3:00 p.m.	Conference Ends